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ABSTRACT

Papers from the National Conference on Indian Educational Leadership include eight discussions which stress conference objectives to: (1) discuss preparation programs for Native American leaders in educational settings; and (2) discuss issues related to Indian education in general. Conference participants numbered 150 most of whom were Native Americans representing 23 states as well as the provinces of Alberta and Ontario, Canada; this meeting constituted the first national gathering of Indian educational leaders. Emphasizing determination and commitment in Indian leadership, the following discussion titles are indicative of conference scope and focus: "Indian Control of Their Own Schools: Myth or Reality?"; "Are Indians Going to Be Forced to Desegregate Under New Desegregation Policies?"; "Indian Educational Administration: What Special Skills and Competencies for Effective Leadership?"; "Indian Education: Cultural Change or Transmission?"; "How Should Indian Education Be Financed?"; "New Roles for the Indian Professional: Client or System Oriented?"; "The Politics of Indian Education: Diffusion or Coalition?"; "Strategies for Organizing Effective Leadership in Indian Educational Administration." (JC)

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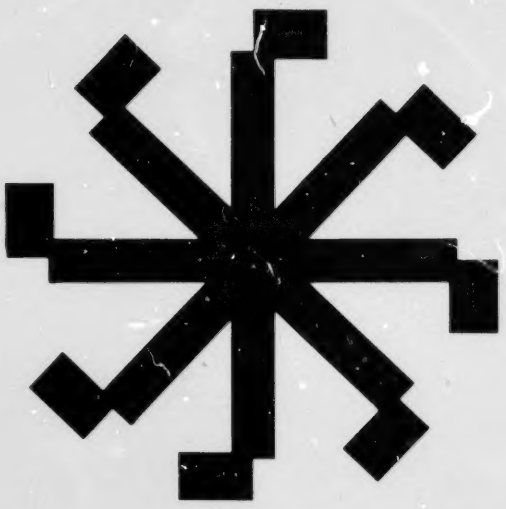

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP:

A Conference Report

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March 1975

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Introduction

The shortage of well trained Indian leaders has long been detrimental to the American Indian communities throughout the United States. There are those who suggest that the Indian nations have never quite recovered from the loss of Indian leadership incurred in the white-Indian battles. Others argue that assimilation or acculturation policies of the federal government developed Indian leadership which could only be useful in a non-Indian community. Perhaps neither of these explanations could successfully withstand close scrutiny. Continued debate may, however, only further delay information needed to fulfill the obligation of providing service to American Indians through meaningful self determination. Certainly the lack of well trained Indian leaders in educational administration is one of the more apparent deficiencies in Indian communities. Indian leaders who emerged in the late 1960's and early 70's recognized the shortage and began focusing great effort to develop and train Indians for leadership positions in American educational institutions, including their own Indian controlled schools.

The series of discussions by national Indian educators which follow reflect a variety of issues ranging from what skills, competencies, sensitivities Indians should possess as administrators to issues related to Indian control of their schools, and/or the politics of Indian education. Surely, the readers will begin to understand the complexities of issues facing Indian education as well as gain an appreciation and understanding of the determination/commitment of Indians who are emerging to occupy important leadership positions. It has been said that more Indian leaders have emerged in the last five years than the previous 200. Perhaps the times have had something to do with this; however, this writer's experience suggests it has been the Indian people themselves who have made decisions which have made a difference.

The first Americans have made their stand; they will no longer tolerate the paternalistic government and exploitation of their land and resources,

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and least of all letting others make decisions which affect their lives. They believe in self determination and accept all the responsibility to go with it. Emotionalism, indeed does run deep in Indian country these days. In the decades ahead we will witness Indian leadership accomplishing the task of serving the communities with vigor and determination.

Lewis Meriam in 1928 called on the federal government to develop programs which would train Indians for leadership positions in their community. Practically every U.S. president since that time has made the same comment. Very little if anything happened until Indians themselves made a decision to assume full responsibility for improving the life of their people. Nearly fifty years have passed and the nation is observing the greatest upheaval of Indian self determination ever. It is the Indian people themselves who are leading. The potential of highly skilled and competent Indian leadership is obviously there and if Indians are content to listen to rhetoric during the next 50 years, the human waste will be unbearable.

Commitment and determination are indeed excellent characteristics developing in the Indian educator. An interesting phenomenon is that educational institutions are actively recruiting Indian students, not only undergraduate but graduate students as well.

In addition to Indians, educational institutions and non-Indians play significant roles in training Indians for educational administration. Several major universities have had training programs during the past five years for specific purposes of training Indian educational administrators. The University of Minnesota, Pennsylvania State University, and Harvard University have all produced competent Indian graduates in educational administration at both the doctoral and masters levels. In addition, many other Indian students are nearing completion of degree work at the above named institutions and other institutions of higher education.

Indian readiness and the perception by university personnel of need in the Native American community combine to offer young Indians greater opportunities for post graduate study. The way in a sense has been broken by those who have had successful graduate careers as well as those universities who are willing to make a special effort on behalf of Indian students. Indian doctoral graduates are now in key positions at national, state, and local levels throughout the United States. For example, Dr. William Demmert, Jr., is the Deputy Commissioner of Indian Education in the United States Office of Education. Dr. Ken Ross is Superintendent of Schools at Window Rock, Arizona. This school on the Navajo Reservation is one of the largest all Indian schools in the nation and is Indian controlled. Dr. Gerald Gipp is Assistant Professor and Director of Indian

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Graduate Programs at the Pennsylvania State University. This writer is Assistant Commissioner of Education for the State of Minnesota and chairperson of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education. This National Advisory Council serves as advisor to the executive and legislative branches of the government at the federal level. Other Indian graduates occupy positions of importance with their great concentration at the local community level.

The objectives of the National Conference on Indian Educational Leadership were:

1. Provide, through workshop sessions, an opportunity for Indian administrators and other leaders to enhance their administrative skills.
2. Discuss preparation programs for Native American leaders in educational settings.
3. Discuss issues related to Indian education in general.

The account of this conference presented in the following chapters stresses the second and third objectives. Although the spirit in which these topics were probed is difficult to convey, at least the content can be reasonably accurately depicted through this medium.

Of the nearly 150 conference participants most were Native Americans representing 23 states as well as the provinces of Alberta and Ontario in Canada. In the words of Leslie Gue, this was a historic meeting for it was the first time Indian educational leaders had gathered at a national conference.

Special acknowledgement for sponsoring this conference go to:

– University Council for Educational Administration
– Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S.A.
– Education Department, The Navajo Tribe
– Institute for Educational Leadership, United States Office of Education
– National Indian Education Association

The financial support and staff assistance provided by these organizations played a vital role in the planning and conduct of this conference. Dr. W. Michael Martin of the University of Colorado, and Dr. L. Jackson Newell of the University of Utah made significant contributions to this conference and are to be commended.

Kirby D. Hall of the University Council for Educational Administration provided considerable assistance in the final preparation and publication of this document. Dr. Charles Sederberg deserves a special thank you for assistance rendered during the tortuous process of deciphering audio taped accounts of the conference, reviewing transcriptions, and

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Will Antell

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I. Indian Control of Their Own Schools: Myth or Reality?

Chairperson: Dillon Platero, Navajo Division of Education, NIEA
Anita Pfeiffer, University of New Mexico
Lionel Bordeaux, Sinte Gleska Community College

A. Pfeiffer. By way of introduction it should be noted that the operation of a Western non-formal American Indian education system operated by Native Americans is not a completely new phenomenon. Throughout most of the 19th century, the Cherokee and the Choctaw Tribes operated their own school systems in Georgia, Alabama, and later in Oklahoma. After the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the schools were conducted in both English and the respective Native languages. The Native languages were learned in oral as well as in written forms. The Choctaw School System, for instance, include a central board of education with elected district trustees who appointed local trustees. These trustees were in charge of selecting and examining teachers both White and Choctaw; visiting the schools; and encouraging school attendance within the community. The System included boarding schools, Community Day schools, Sunday school literacy programs, and scholarship programs. As a result of this excellent public school system the Choctaw Nation had a much higher proportion of educated people than any of the neighboring states. This included a number of college graduates which was surprisingly high. For example, evidence of the quality of written English used in the official correspondance of Choctaws was distinctly superior to that of the White peoples surrounding them. Correspondence between the Choctaw Nation and Congress demonstrates the high literacy level of the Choctaws.

Many of you are well aware that the Indian community controlled school movement began on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona. It began with the making of a school called Rough Rock Demonstration School which is a private non-profit organization, originally funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and various foundations. It began with a budget of $600,000 in July of 1966.

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More and more, tribes are in the process of gaining control over their children's education. As a result of tremendous interest, the Coalition of Community Controlled School Boards was formed in February of 1972. This is a non-profit organization located in New Mexico. It was founded for the purpose of promoting better education for Indian people by helping them gain control over their own education. The Coalition provides legal, technical, and community development services to Indian groups which request assistance in setting up their own school board, committees, or organizations.

The inadequacy of the present system of formal education for Indians in public and federal schools has been demonstrated by the following statistics compiled by the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education (Senate Report 91-501): (1) drop out rates for Indians are twice the national average; (2) 20 percent of the men have less than five years of schooling; (3) 40,000 Navajo Indians, nearly one-third of the tribe, are functional illiterates in English; (4) less than 18 percent of the students in federal Indian schools go on to college, the national average is 32 percent. Furthermore, a review of testimonies of Indian leaders held by the Senate Subcommittee and by other congressional committees reveals a strong consensus that the single most important reason for this deplorable condition in the federal and public schools has been the exclusion of the Indian parents and the community members from participating in and influencing control over the kind of education their children receive; in addition, most of these children in both the federal and public schools are taught by persons from a foreign culture with foreign values not to mention other factors operating to make Indian children uncomfortable in White schools. These factors include the historical fact that Indian people have been treated by non-Indians as inferior for non-Indians have usurped Indian lands as well as control over all important private and public institutions. Indian control of schools is not to be taken lightly. I for one am an advocate of Indian controlled schools. At this point, it is appropriate to address some of the sentiments Indian people have on this issue by way of my own experience.

My initial experience with community controlled schools began at Rough Rock Demonstration School located on the Navajo Reservation at Chinle, Arizona. The Rough Rock community had been asking for a school for 20 years before it was established. One of the first major events was the election of school board members. The school board then began formulating policies and directing the administrators of the school. The board talked with teachers about the kind of education they would like their children to obtain. The school board members were non-English speaking, thus, there was a lot of training that had to be done initially.

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One of the first things that had to be done was to take the school board members to other board meetings in the states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. The school board members observed other boards conduct meetings and formulate policies. Then they used the newly acquired knowledge in establishing their community school. This, of course, took a long time. Board members meetings lasted all day with a great deal of translation necessary. Along with the training of board members there was a significant amount of retraining of teachers who come from other institutions with no experience with Navajos on the reservation.

An important issue related to the training of non-Indian teachers is the integration of institutions of higher education with the staff needs of schools like Rough Rock Demonstration School. There is a tremendous amount of work that needs to be done in higher education. For instance, teachers during their training in universities need to be made aware of the learning styles of Indian children as well as values and norms of Indian communities. I think this is a very difficult kind of challenge to the universities that are training teachers. The fact of the matter is that the country does have an oversupply of teachers but in the case of Indian communities we have a severe lack of teachers that are qualified to instruct Native American pupils. For example, there is a great need for bilingual Navajo teachers who also know the behavioral patterns of the children in the community. I think that an Indian community school has other ingredients that a normal school would not have, that is to say, if schools are to be successful experiences for Indian children, there must be a great deal of work done with the Indian community. For example, I think when people become accustomed to operating only in a classroom situation, that is teachers, they feel they are being imposed upon when community people involve themselves in the classroom. This is due primarily to the instructors' incomplete or non-existent knowledge of the community. Thus, this situation could and often does, become a real problem. The communities are only attempting to insure that the educational goals are not inconsistent with the communities'. Unfortunately, there appears to be a lot of opposition to the attempts to make schools successful experiences for Indian children. Probably the single factor that made Rough Rock Demonstration School a success was the dedication of the staff and the community in establishing and maintaining non-conflicting goals.

Insofar as the question of myth or reality of Indian controlled schools is concerned, in my opinion it is a reality. Furthermore, I think the problem now is for those of us who call ourselves Indian leaders to become involved and try not only to get more Indian control of schools but to begin to influence other people. As I say this I think of higher education,

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perhaps because that is my present area of concentration. I have discovered that many institutions of higher education, particularly those adjacent to Indian communities, have faculty that have never been to an Indian community. They have never experienced the kinds of things that we have. More significant is the fact that they do claim to be working in Indian education.

My own conclusion has been that either these university people are much too comfortable in their ivory towers and will not visit Indian communities or they are just plain lazy. The reason may not be here or there, but it certainly is up to us here to help Indian communities develop educational programs as well as educate our ignorant colleagues at these universities. This is what I see as my role in Indian education today.

Other discoveries I have made at the university level include the policies that hinder the furtherance of Indian education. A simple example is the non-existent policy for off campus courses, yet, there are field research courses. I do not speak of extension courses for there are only so many extension courses that the university can give, besides these extension courses are not really accepted as legitimate courses by the university. Now certainly this type of policy can be changed by us. I think it is a real challenge to change some of these policies and establish more relevant educational programs for Indian communities. Thus, I urge you to meet these challenges for improved education for Native Americans.

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II. Are Indians Going to be Forced to Desegregate Under New Desegregation Policies?

Presenter: Robert Bennett, University of New Mexico
Reacter: Eugene Leitka, Bureau of Indian Affairs

R. Bennett: Policies of desegregation do have a definite effect upon a school system's response and delivery of services to its Native American pupils. This is particularly true in an Indian community where there is a demonstrated preference for segregated education.

Historically, Native Americans have been systematically segregated from the rest of the American society. This is evidenced by the educational policies promulgated and maintained by the Federal Government, beginning with the various treaties stating that there would be one school teacher for every 30 students. Combined with this promise was the enactment of the Snyder Act which gave authority to the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the supervision of the Secretary of the Department of Interior who in turn would direct, and expend such money as Congress appropriated from time to time to assist and maintain Native Americans in the United States. Interwoven with this policy has been the whole notion of tribal sovereignty.

There was a great deal of criticism, much of it justifiable, about the educational system operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in recent years. This provided the impetus for changing all of the schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The proposed change was to convert all the schools into public schools on what was called a mutual basis. This meant that the state or school district and the Bureau of Indian Affairs had to determine somehow when the community or school was ready for this conversion. Thus, many Bureau of Indian Affairs schools were converted with no voice from the affected community. Naturally, there ensued bitter opposition to this method of change. Since then new policies regarding educational changes have included a clause or paragraph calling for community involvement in most of the major policy changes to date.

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If this kind of arrangement is to continue it is only a matter of time before the issue of desegregation will arise. Will Native American pupils be forced to integrate in view of the long standing segregated policy? To date there has been only one instance where this issue has been contested. A suit brought by the National Indian Youth Council contended that the United States Government was in violation of equal rights of Native American pupils as well as in violation of the Brown decision of 1954, by spending federal money to transport Indian pupils from the Navajo reservation to Intermountain School, a Bureau of Indian Affairs operated school in Utah, which was a segregated school. Thus, this school was giving the Indian pupils a segregated education. In the District Court of Utah, the judge held that the relationship between the United States government and the Navajo Tribe was a unique one which was not being abrogated. Furthermore, the judge stated that the National Indian Youth Council, not being a party to that particular treaty, was in no position to bring such a suit. Thus, the case was dismissed. By implication, we may surmise that if the Navajo Tribe ever wished integrated education it could contest the present policy.

A second type of desegregation issue poses practical problems. This situation is one in which integration is not practical due to the extreme isolation of some all-Indian communities. The important question here is just how far should the children be bussed. The distance the children would be traveling per day would be very great. If integrated education means intensive bussing programs then it is conceivable that there might be great opposition to this policy. For example, bussing for many reservation communities would mean constructing good road systems. Good roads are desirable but not if this means Indian school funds are to be used to build them. If the people in Washington would look at the incomplete ten-year road plans, school construction plans, and the variety of plans that are in their files, and spend some of their time securing money for these plans they would be doing a greater service for Indian people than to conduct endless hearings. In the long run it will be up to local communities to decide whether they desire an integrated or a segregated education.

Based upon my experience as a Bureau of Indian Affairs superintendent, I worked for integrated education for some tribes and segregated education for other tribes. This may seem somewhat inconsistent, however, it is not inconsistent if you take the position that you are working for the people. Hopefully, the decision will be by the community itself and that their decision will be respected and not overridden by administrators.

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In conclusion, I believe that segregated education for Native Americans is feasible and not illegal. If it were illegal, I am positive that Congress would have stopped appropriating funds for such purposes. Particularly in view of the well known fact that Native Americans have had a separate and unequal education for a long time. Insofar as national Indian education policy is concerned it is difficult for Congress to know with whom they should consult within a three month period. Thus, the perennial questions arise: What should the national policy be and who do we consult about this issue? Presently, there are so many Indian organizations, Indian tribes, and Bands that it would be an impossible task to consult each and every one of these groups for the purpose of consensus.

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III. Indian Educational Administration: What Special Skills and Competencies for Effective Leadership?

Chairperson: Shirley Prevost, Center for Indian Studies, Black Hills State College
Al Selinger, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
David Gipp, American Indian Higher Consortium

S. Prevost: I will attempt to present some of the issues that are being faced by the growing number of Indian controlled community colleges throughout the country today. During this past year, six of the community colleges banded together to organize the National College Consortium. This Consortium will deal with the following major areas: accreditation, curriculum, faculty, institutional support and research. This is an effort to support the development of the community colleges. This last week several of our staff were on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation providing technical assistance that will enable the Cheyenne people to bring higher educational opportunities to their reservation. Today some of our staff are at the Arapaho Reservation in Wyoming meeting with their people. Indian people recognize that cultural self determination can only be achieved by having higher educational leadership. This leadership in higher education must necessarily operate on several fronts.

First, if Indian peoples accept the responsibility of operating a higher educational system they must have the necessary leadership to carry out the objectives of that system. A system developed by the local people meeting their needs for skill development on jobs on reservations, should provide certification for college courses, and operate at the educational level of the total Indian population. The Indian people recognize the need for credentials in order to compete in American society, therefore the leadership should have insight and knowledge concerning the organization of the American system. This knowledge can be applied to delivery systems on the Indian reservation and the three options available to the Indian community are: (A) Try to create an institution such as the Navajo Community College which used tribal law as its foundation; (B)

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Create a partnership arrangement where Indian institutions are created by the tribe with support from another higher educational system, with legal status such as has been done at Pine Ridge and at Rosebud, in South Dakota; (C) Create an institution under state law such as was done at D.Q.U. in California. In each case the leader must understand the source of organizational jurisdiction and the problems that arise from it, especially understanding the relationships between Indian people and the Federal Government.

On the second front Indian people want to develop their cultural knowledge, which involves understanding the underlying philosophy on the Indian reservation. On one hand some Indian people wish to follow a policy of separate but equal in their relationship with white America. In this community tribal language becomes important in the delivery system. In some instances, as in the Dakota Community College, students requested basic traditional policies such as tribal language, religion, and social systems and courses. On the other hand, some Indian people wish to follow a policy of assimilation, wherein basic college courses are delivered without regard for Indian students' opportunities to understand themselves and their cultural environment. The leader must be able to deal with these two forces in tribal society if the Indian people are to have technological and cultural changes at the same time. Otherwise there occurs technological change without cultural change. Just look around on a reservation where there is a policy of technical change, such as housing industry, and note its community. There is no evidence of a social organization within the newly created community to deal with the social problems generated by the Indian people living together as a community. A disorganized Indian community is evidenced by alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, and lack of respect for one another.

The third and final front is the leadership and organizational skill that the institution needs to survive in Indian society. The institution must implement its objectives in an undirected and unstructured Indian environment. Sometimes the success of the institution will mean its own destruction since its very nature will produce a change in the power structure on the reservation. As long as the political power structure supports the institution it will survive, from the lack of competition from a similar institution. The leader must have the skill to maintain a neutral position and maintain principles above personality.

If self determination of Indian people is to continue, continued effort for higher education on Indian reservations must be supported. Indian administrative skills and competency must be continually upgraded and Indian wisdom must be understood.

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IV. Indian Education: Cultural Change or Transmission?

Chairperson: Richard Wilson, American Indian Management Institute
Billy Cypress, Seminole Agency
LeRoy Shing, Moencopi Day School

R. Wilson: When I was a kid they had a revival meeting at the Laguna Pueblo and they brought in an outside gun, you know, a preaching specialist from the South. There was one gal, Sister Edna we'll call her, who was very large and imperturbable, absolutely never changed her expressions. But she liked to come to church and she was there almost every night, sitting in the front pew. Nothing the preacher could say in his best rhetorical, sulphurous style could shake her. It got to be an obsession with him. Finally along about Thursday night of a week long revival he had had enough; he stopped right in the middle of the sermon and said, "sister, don't you realize that if you don't repent you're going to spend eternity in the firey sulphurous pits of hell, don't you know that?" Dead silence fell over the room. She looked up and said, "hum, the government never let that happen to the Indians."

The title of the discussion tonight is "Cultural Transmission or Change." What is it that we're actually dealing with? I think I'll give a personal point of reference. Things first started to break, or make sense to me personally, in 1968 when I read a report by Demitric Stamp, Francis McKinley, and others, writing in *Who Should Control Indian Education,* later to appear in the *Congressional Record.* They said, "properly speaking there is no such thing as Indian education; there is simply the attempt of one culture to impose itself on another." It was a very shocking statement to many non-Indians and, surprisingly, to many of us, who had never given it a lot of thought before. But happily for the Indian kids, some Indian educators saw it as no more of a succinct statement than they'd known for a long time themselves. If we accept the premise that education is the means by which a culture perpetuates itself, as the most general definition, then we can move on to another premise which says; no culture is going to scuttle itself. Specifically, the

Indian cultures are not going to politely step aside or die to make life easier for the dominant culture or OMB (Office of Management and Budget).

Once we realize this and can understand the federal policy of assimilation up to the time of the Meriam Report (and unfortunately after the whiplash that appeared after the Dylan-Myer days, the termination days) we see a state of virtual cold war has existed between the Indian community and the educational institutions. In and around the reservations it was a stand-off. One of the landmarks of Indian education, as we now see it, occurred when the Navaho Tribal Council declared that education was to become a priority with the Tribe. Certainly one of the more obstinate tribes, in the words of the bureaucracy, the Navaho, would even hide their children in the canyons and make the Feds come out and get them. I remember a fellow that I grew up with who wasn't like the rest of us. He had long braids, almost down to his waist. He had been hiding. I didn't see much of him, and had forgotten about him. It wasn't until the summer of our fifteenth year that I realized that another fellow had been caught because he showed up at a ceremony shaved like a billiard ball. It was sad, both of us knew what had happened, and I shook my head. He gave me a rueful smile. This is the kind of thing that happened and there was real animosity both stated and unstated, between the various Indian communities and educational institutions.

This particular state of affairs received its proper attention and the response was given in terms of both federal dollars and massive programs from one source or the other building up existing programs. Also, the response of many young Indians who might otherwise have found themselves in other areas, other disciplines, and other communities, were suddenly taking an intense personal interest in the educational problems of their own communities. They addressed the state of affairs, the absence of real Indian education. All that could be found was a deplorable situation in which one culture was trying to uproot and supplant another.

Many of us here in this room are responding to that need for redefinition of Indian Education. We can probably look back at our own lives and see points during the 60's when our attention focused very directly on needs of the Indian community. Many of us have possibly considered other kinds of careers and this was a major turning point—a crucial point—a noble happening in our lives. To realize what the needs were and that perhaps here was an area, not only in which we were, but in which we could accomplish something that would produce a great sense of fulfillment and pride. So this then is what I think motivated a lot of young Indians and older ones too, to take an interest in the educational

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processes. In 1973 I think that it is necessary to reassess our roles and look at our progress in reshaping "Indian Education," as we now use the term. We can ask what role does Indian education play now? What have we done? What are we doing? Do we change or do we seek to perpetuate the status quo? Do we see ourselves as the guardians of a cultural entity or do we see ourselves as fighting for or protecting a political entity i.e., the Indian community?

I'll have to start by saying first that I don't think there's a simple "yes or no" answer. The questions do have answers, but I don't think they are simply stated. I think the answers can be as varied as our personalities and backgrounds are. They will also vary as much as our communities vary, for our communities have quite different requirements and desires for their own Indian educational programs. Some tribes, and I am most conscious of the Navajo effort, seek to make their schools an important part of the cultural transmission process. This role of cultural transmission is assigned directly to: school systems, an identifiable geographical area, a school. Other tribes, such as the Pueblos in the Rio Grande Valley, would be horrified if the schools were to invade such an intensely private area as cultural transmission. They feel that it's theirs and theirs alone, they'd rather not have any school seek to invade this particular area. I would say that the one thing that is common and the one thing that is heartening is that in approximately five years a freedom of choice had developed. There was a difference in approach and different tribes chose to go different directions, each trying to carry out what they thought was necessary. Both of these examples then illustrate the idea of cultural transmission, one delegating part of the responsibility to the school, the other seeking to keep the cultural transmission areas at home.

In my own life, a couple of questions start to arise with respect to both of these approaches. The first, and what I'd call the Navajo approach, is that the Navajo system may perpetuate the culture in the classrooms, the administration, and infrastructure surrounding the system which is in appearance distinctly non-Indian. The whole idea of superintendents, offices of education, and other structures have all the external appearances of every other educational system we encounter, even though they may be superficial. One thing that appears to me, as one interested in administrative management, is that there appears to be an attempt to institutionalize in two directions; simultaneously institutionalizing the formal teaching of Navajo culture in the schools and structuring along lines of standard administrative modes. Is a system like a rose bush? Can you take a part of one and graft it to the stock of another and get the flower you want? Or will one part of the bush dominate the other? We really don't know. In the other example schools are completely left out of the

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transmission process. The school does its thing and the village does its thing; they never get together. We know from first hand contact with the students in this situation, that the mental gearshift that is necessary when they climb on the bus in the morning can be a very stressing thing and can be hard on the individual student. This approach implies a hope that the acculturating experiences in school will not be as strong as the ones at home. You assume, in fact, that you will not be flying into the enemy's camp by giving them the stronger cut at your children. I think this is a dangerous assumption. A school has almost exclusive rights with the children as a captive audience for several hours a day. The school simply cannot help but transmit a certain flavor of culture. If we leave the schools alone they will naturally fall into an area of cultural transmission all their own. You simply can't say "school, you be neutral," "you be bland," "you teach aspects of technology and we'll teach culture." Schools can't do this. Schools in the final analysis are people and people propagate their own beliefs in the absence of direction to the contrary. It appears that we have a situation once again that seems to have confronted our fathers. A system which we can neither handle, nor ignore. But there are a couple of differences, very significant differences. One is the presence of a growing number of Indian professionals in the field of education. It also appears that if there is a chance of solving this particular part of the dilemma, it will come due to the fact that a group of committed, intelligent trained people are now beginning to look into it. I might suggest that we make a few adjustments in our definitions.

First, I feel that all education is helping to effect cultural change. I feel that there is simply no escape from that, as Al Selinger said this morning, "We are agents of change" as much as we might feel that we would not care to be at times. Probably in the overall summation of it, there's no way we can escape the charge and responsibility for being agents of change. But I submit that only anthropologists believe that Indian cultures are static. Those of us who have been close to the Indian community for most of our lives know that cultures are dynamic. Even those that appear to be highly stable do change, perhaps slowly and in ways that are not open for us to see. But in a conversation with some people from those areas, however, they would be the first to tell you that cultural change does occur. I remember the tale of an old Sioux Chief, recorded about 1801, saying he was awfully glad iron pots came along because dogs didn't cook up so well in skin sacks with hot rocks. I am sure that General Custer didn't think that the Indians at Little Big Horn were less Indian because some of them were using seven-shot repeaters . . . I don't think he took any comfort in that at all. So Indian cultures do change. I think Indian cultures have a right to assume tools for their

use, and one of these tools is a system of education. Again we ask what system and how are we going to fix this system so that it works for our communities?

Cultural change does not necessarily mean losing your identity. We don't have to become identical to everyone else. For many years people thought that cultural change always implied two things: First, that every item in a person's cultural inventory would change at the same rate, i.e., if you saw an Indian wearing trousers, driving a pick-up or occasionally going to the movies or speaking or writing English, you assume that every other phase of his Indianness had changed to that same degree. Indian cultures are much like rocks that you see out in the mountains, they don't all change at the same rate in response to wind, weather, cold and sun. Some rocks adjust to what you see, other rocks remain resistant and hard and unchanging. I think this is one of the first things that we have to sidestep and correct in talking about cultural change; not all things change at the same rate, and some things are only going to change a little, if at all. The second mistaken inference is assuming that changing your culture always means moving in the direction of the mainstream. We only have to look at the emerging colonial countries, which are much stronger analogies to many of us, and look at the modernization of other foreign countries, Japan for example. They have become modernized and westernized in many ways but are distinctly Japanese and certainly not American. Sony may compete well with General Electric, but the Japanese still have a sense of their own way of doing things and it is very much distinct and separate from what we know as Western European/American civilization. I am saying that if we change we need not assume we're going to become exactly like the rest of the country unless we want to, or unless we let it happen by default. I think that to speak almost in the rhetorical sense, a lot of us have been challenged to think by the President's message of June 10, 1970, in which the first brave word, self determination, came along. We had been worried that Nixon had placed one too many syllables in the last word and what he meant was "termination." We were not quite sure what he meant. But as things developed, and as we work in areas such as education and economic development (areas that are critical to the retention of the Indian land base, to the retention of our community and the training of our people) we form a new definition of self-determination.

Self-determination is more than the legalistic status of an Indian reservation or the support of the trust concept within the Department of Interior. For our personal sense, self-determination is freedom to determine our own direction of change at the rate we see fit. Freedom to call the shots for yourself at the speed you wish to go. I think groups have

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been frightened by the idea of changing because people have always given them the direction and rate of change. Change has never been the prerogative of the Indian community. I feel it has to become so. We are talking about areas of change and rates of change and how we interpret our ideas of what self-determination might mean. In the direction of the rate of change we, those of us who are Indian administrators and educators, have our greatest talent and our greatest capacity for mischief. At this particular point we are in a position to help our communities very much, but we are also in a position to harm them. If we erect outmoded structures, construct intellectually sterile bureaucratic modes, transplant every flaw in the system as it now exists into our own communities rather than coming up with new structures for our groups, new models, new roles and even new credentials, then we are committing mischief at a rate far greater than any white teacher or white missionary. This is true because we as Indians often have entrees they never enjoy. We often genuinely believe that what we do is for the good of our community and yet we have unknowingly secured damaging things and sought to impose them. Recognizing the fact that we can't avoid our role as agents and effectors of cultural change, we may be in a position to ask: After the cavalry, missionaries, white schools—both bureau and public, what is next? The Indian community has survived all these things, now we must ask ourselves a painfully difficult question . . . can the Indian community survive us?

B. Cypress: First let me say, the Seminoles are not as assimilated as many other tribes. I would say that 90 percent of the Seminole tribe still speak their language and there are very few intermarriages. A little less than 40 years ago, no one went to school. At that time our culture was strong. We, the elders, spoke against education. They said, "We have our own form of education, we don't have the kind of education that white society has, but we have our own and it works for us." Times have changed. Back then they were saying that once the Seminoles were educated, they would lose their culture, lose their language, lose everything that it meant to be a Seminole and perhaps they were right. Today most of our educational problems stem from the vacuum that we created.

We can't go back to what we were before and we haven't quite educated ourselves to the point where we can take the best of the dominant society. A lot of our people are caught up in this vacuum, myself and many others are groping, trying to find the best means to solve the problem.

There are two distant tribes in Florida, and we are cousins. They are the Miccous and the Seminoles. The Seminoles have been the ones who have accepted the reservation system. They accepted Christianity as well

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as other things that were brought before them. The Miccous, numbering around 400, were very independent up until 1971 and they wanted to hold onto their religion. They accepted government aid in all areas of health, education, and housing only reluctantly because they were afraid they would lose something in return. They were willing to be led into the 20th Century, have economic independence, and yet be able to retain their culture. I think this is very good. You have to admit that this group has been more successful than the larger Seminole Tribe in Florida because we have compromised too much. At this time we are groping for our own set of values, we don't know exactly what a Seminole is anymore. We don't know exactly what an Indian is. We know that many years ago we knew who and what we were. It's really a trying time. The Miccous have done a better job than we. They said, "We want to go slowly, we don't want to throw away everything." They have implemented technology with their own cultural values better than we have.

T. Martin: It's not been too long ago that I was active in what I think was a militant revolutionary base. The big thing was that I was calling people "apple." Many times I was told "You're not an Indian because you don't do things this way," or "you don't look this way," or something of that nature. I in turn would take on someone else and say, "Well you're not Indian because you don't speak your language," or "you don't have long hair." None of us really knew what an Indian was.

Being an Indian on the Standing Rock Reservation may not be the same as being an Indian on Turtle Mountain Reservation, and I feel we hurt a lot of other Indians by taking this approach. A lot of the younger kids were not only hurt, but became confused as well. I used to direct a sixth and seventh grade Indian program in North Dakota. Our big idea at that time was to get the students thinking Indian. They would say, "Well, how do we do it?", so we passed out books and said, "read." Many of them were coming up with a lot of ideas that confused them. Some of them had been in programs set up in the universities. At that time the big spiel to get funding was "Indianism;" so these programs were set up for the purpose of teaching "Indianism." After looking at it, it becomes a hobby, this paper Indian. They would go back home and would perpetuate what they had learned in a course. Many times it was too difficult, they couldn't go back home. A lot of the courses you get at the university are not acceptable on the reservation or at the community level. If you go back home with long hair and the people at home just don't like long hair, they're going to give you a lot of hassle. You start coming home and telling the Tribal Council, "You people are not Indians." That doesn't work out very well either, so you just don't come home.

Another one of the things Dick was talking about was "self-determina-

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tion;" really think about that word. The more I think about it the more I think that it's not so much self-determination as negotiations. I don't believe that anyone, including the President of the United States, would give complete freedom to direct our future endeavors. I think we may have to learn to negotiate. We have to teach our people how to negotiate with these people for our own benefit. For example, even if the bank is an EOP lender, they often find reasons to turn you down. We're really going to have to teach our people how to negotiate.

The program I directed for the kids is still going on. It has never been funded, we sell calendars to keep it going. We've kind of realigned our thoughts as we no longer call each other "apples" and ask who is Indian in this group and who is not. We're dealing with how our kids can know their tribal governments to the point of being able to perfect them. The thing we try to point out is that as Indians we live under three constitutions. The important one is the tribal constitution and that it is something we are going to have to build on and even update. We are also teaching the kids that within our state we can become powerful in the state legislature by getting together. We can work things out as long as we get someone in the legislature. We are going to do it. North Dakota is losing its population, all except for Indians. The Indians keep coming back, so soon we're going to be taking over.

L. Shing: In listening to the various speakers, I think that it has all been the same, we are all talking about survival for Indian people whether it is the idea of teaching culture, or teaching them how to survive in this environment. With the Hopi, education has always been a strong point. I am sure people have heard their grandparents tell them many times, "go to school because some day you will be our ears and our mouth." As I look at the past and see myself going through a school system I can see where people who have been teaching Indians have not gone to the point of really understanding what the tribe wanted from the education.

Among the Hopis, as far as culture is concerned in the school, the people have said "You teach our children how to read and write, let us worry about the culture and let us worry about teaching the kids the religion of the tribe." But you know when you get down to it, those of us who are Indian administrators cannot help but instill some of the cultural values in the school systems to make them work. We have been working on norms foreign to our thinking. We have values that are separate from the dominant culture today, and there is nothing wrong with them. In fact many of our norms are a lot better than what we have in the larger society today.

In regard to cultural change, it's going to happen, there is no denying

it. Our tribe knows that already as part of our culture, the dancing and stuff will be phased out. This boils down to the idea, "What about us who are Indians in the capacity of the administration of education?" What is our responsibility in helping our students survive in this society? I know that of the Indian people who are educated today too many of them have become "professional" in their thinking. Once they've gotten an education, they have separated themselves from what they've actually set out to do. This is one of the problems with Indian education today. We have not gotten together and said, "Well, I am Indian, I am a professional, what am I going to do with the people in my community to make it work for them to educate the students?"

There are some things that I have personally felt are needs. Because I am working with the Bureau, I will probably get into some of these things as I see them in the Bureau and public schools. There are too many administrators, i.e., decision makers, who say, "We have rules that we must think by." This is not true. In order to make Indian education work you have to bend those rules. You have to get away from, as Dick said, the "outmoded types of systems" that we have in our schools. I went into a school last year, went down to the basement and saw ten-year-old books all over the place. The administrator came up and said, "If you've got no money you can't buy books." We bought books. What I am saying is that for an administrator at the local level and on up, if you want something, you have to go get it. This change in Indian education is going to work, and it's going to allow our people to survive. But you have to be willing to do it, you have to be willing to say" "Well, I am going to get it done. I am not going to worry about my job, I am going to help these people."

Many people say that if you start to make a little change, someone higher up comes and says you can't do it, you'll lose your job. If you are willing to go out after something, stick your neck out, say the heck with the job, then you will get something done for Indian people. Indian education is going to change. We've never really gone out and pushed for something. We've never gotten people who are in education who are willing to go beyond the first step. As an administrator, to make schools survive and work together with culture, a person must become sensitive to the areas surrounding him. I can't separate myself from the community because to me I know that we have to educate our students. I know this is the only way we will survive. Education is the basis for many of the things we have to change in our tribes. What we've said is that, if the community's educational system is to work in our Indian communities, the administrator and his staff must be willing to put in a few extra hours overtime, without pay, open up their doors past five, then and only then

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will you have a change in the feeling for the schools. If we, as administrators, are willing to leave our little houses on the campus and go out and not be above the people around us, then you will make the relationship between the community and the school survive. The Bureau fences its campus in, so the only way the people look at the school is as a place to send their kids for a few hours a day. We can make this change, but not by talk. The Indians have to see something take place before they'll believe in what you are doing.

Let's face it, there is no stopping cultural change; it's going to happen. As an administrator, it's my duty to see that my Indian children get everything that we can give them to help them survive. Those of us who are in this room right now went through the same process. Some of us went to boarding school, and I think that it's the worst thing I ever did. We still have to send our kids to them and that's where a lot of the understanding of the tribe has disappeared. The main thing is that we must be willing to stick our necks out, to be willing to forsake some of our job security in order to make the changes. If we do this, then Indian education will survive. As of right now, we're struggling for survival and we will continue to struggle.

V. How Should Indian Education Be Financed?

Chairperson: Will Antell, Harvard University
James Hawkins, Bureau of Indian Affairs
Harry Wigalter, Chief of State School Finance, New Mexico
Myron Jones, Indian Educational Leadership
Andrew Larson, Bonneville Power Administration

J. Hawkins: The business of financing Indian education is something which seems to grow more complex each year as more laws are passed and more sources of financing seem to be available. Let me briefly sketch some of the ways in which schools are currently funded. It really depends upon the school system that an Indian child is in as to the channel through which the money flows that will help to educate that child. If he is in a public school system and is a member of a federally recognized tribe, he has local financing from the local school taxes; he has whatever state equalization support that may be available and he probably will get some resources if he lives on a federal reservation through the Federal Impact Aid Program, Public Law 874. He probably will be eligible for some financing from the Bureau of Indian Affairs through the Johnson-O'Malley Program and now he probably will get some funds from the U.S. Office of Education through Title IV. These are the immediately identifiable sources of funding for that child. This leads me to comment that maybe we don't need to worry about more money quite so much as we need to use some imagination in the spending of those funds. Courses of action seem to be very, very wide open for helping Indian children.

If the Indian child is in a Bureau school system, the Bureau of Indian Affairs funding for that child will come from two sources. The major amount of funding will come directly from the Bureau of Indian Affairs through the appropriations by Congress. In addition to this major amount of funding, the Bureau is eligible for a certain percentage of title monies applicable to public schools under Titles I, III, and VII. I do not believe

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that the Bureau schools have yet been successful in cracking the Title IV program in the U.S. Office of Education, but I suspect future efforts will be made in that direction.

What if a child goes to a private school? Let's talk about some of the Indian contract schools such as Rough Rock. Here again, a variety of sources of funding are available. The basic funding probably will come from the Bureau of Indian Affairs through a basic contract with the Bureau for the operation of that school. Additionally, these children are eligible for Title funding through the Bureau and are eligible for Title IV funding from the U.S. Office of Education directly. Depending on the imagination and energy of the Directors of those schools, funds may also be procured from private foundations. Rough Rock is a school which has been quite successful in getting funding from private foundations. These generally, without going into any further details, seem to be the general areas of funding for Indian children attending school. I did not mention the church supported parochial schools for Indian children on reservations. Interestingly, in some of these church schools local school boards have been elected and the Indian families have taken over from the churches and have actually signed contracts with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to operate some formerly church schools where the churches have had financial problems of their own. These are the general sources of financing.

H. Wigalter: I suspect that it's easier to speak about how Indian Education should not be financed rather than attempting to select alternative solutions. If an Indian child is a resident of a state, it would seem logical that he is entitled to all educational oportunities available to any other resident of compulsory school age. In this case, the financing should be the same as is available for other children—namely, a basic program with recognized auxiliary services underwritten by a combination of local, county, state and federal (non-categorical) revenue. It would, therefore, be assumed that under this plan the Indian child would have access to educational opportunities that are constructed to meet his needs.

If it is determined through some measure, diagnosis or evaluation that a child in school is having difficulty, a particular emphasis may have to be placed upon prescriptive elements of a program. This should be true whether the child is Indian or non-Indian. It would appear reasonable that every child demonstrating strengths and weaknesses should receive some attention. In the case of the Indian child the categorical elements, such as JOM, Title I, Title I Migrant, Right to Read, follow through the more recent emergency school act and Indian education act revenues, could be directed for special assistance to overcome the problems.

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Financing Indian Education should then consist of high quality regular programs and well designed specialized assistance to overcome disadvantages or meet other problems that hinder a child's ability to succeed in the regular program.

What I have just stated is a gross oversimplification of a very complex subject; however, if there is the dedication and inclination to improve the lot of the Indian child, the steps noted above will provide as good an alternative as any other I have seen.

Many Indian parents have voiced concern about the quality of the ongoing program and the fact that the compensatory assistance oftentimes becomes the regular program. There may be some validity to this as evidenced by recent court actions that have ruled that this type of discrimination does exist. I wonder if it was the public school itself that created the situation or whether the circumstances were developed by those in charge of the categorical programs? Categorical programs, funded with their own administrative overhead, have caused those responsible to view their task oftentimes independently from that of the regular school program; therefore, rather than providing assistance based on that child's requirement the categorical assistance was applied in layers. An Indian child generally arrived at school bringing with him a great many eligibilities for dollars, and the categorical operators saw to it that he was claimed for every dollar available by developing "paper programs" that, in fact, reached the child for whom it was intended only superficially.

Have any of you ever tried to determine how an Indian youngster who has been listed for eligibility on five or six categorical programs as well as that mythical "regular program" ever gets to take advantage of these wonderful benefits in a five or six hour day for 180 days per year? I've often visualized this youngster on roller skates moving rapidly from class to class and being plucked out periodically for a brief exposure to the variety of specialized treatments—a piece of reading, a smattering of bilingual education, a moment of cultural awareness ending with a field trip. Those programs are not inexpensive, and though they are evaluated in almost total isolation, the Indian parent still wonders why his child cannot cope with the so-called basic elements of a regular program.

In my experience I have noted that when questions are asked there's a tendency to buy lots of "things" for the Indian child. If the youngster has problems with arithmetic, you buy him a big chief tablet and a brand new pencil; if he has difficulty in chemistry, buy a new car for the attendance officer.

There are sizeable quantities of money available to meet the problems

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that apparently exist; otherwise, you wouldn't be here today. If a more realistic partnership existed between the state and federal governments and the local district perhaps these dollars could be pooled and directed toward a program that is child-centered rather than entitlement-based. Further, the partnership should never exclude a parent who also has hopes and aspirations for his children. If we could pool our monies and establish some identified parental desires—such as, "I would like my child, who is in fifth grade, to at least read at the fifth grade level"—and construct a technique for noting whether or not we are progressing toward that hope. I believe we will have accomplished quite a bit in the financing of Indian education or, for that matter, education for any other children.

M. Jones: I'm going to begin with a Lenny Bruce story. One of his stories was about two pilots on a plane.

First Pilot: "Where are we going today?"
Second Pilot: "I don't know, man."
First Pilot: "What do you mean you don't know?"
Second Pilot: "What's the difference, let's go."

The problem is that they were commercial pilots and that is one of the problems with Indian education. The guys are up at the front of the plane and the plane is going somewhere, but no one is sure where. Compensatory programs have become very important back in the cabin, compensatory programs are the choice of meals you get. So if someone, an Indian parent, asks, "Where're we going?" They say on this flight you can have steak, fish, or enchiladas with spaghetti.

But, I'd sure like to know where we are going.

"And for dessert you can have . . ."

The compensatory programs and compensatory money ironically are frequently used as a device not to help education in any way, but to obscure all issues. I want to tell a Wigalter story on this, because it is one of the most dramatic examples of how little compensatory money can mean. In a New Mexico school district which has almost stopped being a school district, and become a savings and loan association, they have never had a planned surplus under $600,000 in the last five years. Their cash surplus this year was 2.2 million, that's cash in the bank drawing interest. If the guys running that school got out of that and went into business, they would clean out everybody within a couple of years because they have figured out how to do it. At the same time this school district gets Title, I, Johnson-O'Malley, and now they have Indian Education money. They get every possible welfare-need kind of school program while maintaining their savings account at full strength. Two years

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ago this district, which is 86 percent Navajo, had a planned surplus of $600,000, and one of their budget items was $50,000 to plan a Navajo curriculum. That was a Johnson-O'Malley request. Please, please, if only we had $50,000 we could develop a curriculum appropriate to Navajos. I was at the budget hearing and I said I don't know what the hell you are talking about. The school is 86 percent Navajo anyway, were you planning an Armenian curriculum before this? And what does money have to do with it? You are asking for $50,000 when you have $600,000. They turned to Wigalter who is the Director of Public School Finance and said, that money doesn't count. Cash surplus can't be used for non-recurring expenses. Wigalter blew it for them completely by saying:

> "No, I'll give you permission, you want $50,000, I'll give you $150,000 for Navajo curriculum development, from your own surplus. It can be a three year program, non-recurring. It's non-recurring, it will end in three years. Here's $150,000, you got three years to plan."

They turned it down; not only the school superintendent but also the school board. This is an Indian controlled school with the majority of the school board members being Navajos. They not only turned the money down, but the superintendent and every principal fought against using their cash surplus because two years hence it might require a bond issue and they would have to pay higher taxes on their houses. It's crazy, and yet, the myth continues that somehow there's a correlation between available money and educational needs.

The wealthiest Indian district in this state on a per people basis . . . the wealthiest district this year . . . also happens to be the wealthiest Indian district in the State of New Mexico. They have more money than the famed Los Alamos. In a couple of years they're going to approach Beverly Hills and they have the highest dropout rate in the state. I think that's a serious question. That's part of the role of compensatory education. A district that has a majority of Indian students fills its library with Indian books but not out of its basic budget; that's not its educational job. Its educational job is to run the school program. The same school program they would have if they were in New Mexico, Illinois, Canada, or Southern France. The school program . . . and anything different comes out of compensatory funds. I believe that obscures the entire educational issue because they can then argue that if we don't get the money, if we don't get the Federal money, then we won't be able to do this weird educational job you're asking us to do. We're going to run our fundamental, square program and if you want it all get out there and hustle the Federal money. I think that goes back to Harry's question

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about what the state's job is. Let me throw in one more example. We got brand new money in the Indian Education Act. A district in New Mexico planned their budget for next year in such a way that they gave raises to every employee except the kitchen help. Now they write a proposal under the Indian Education Act and they say a terrible thing happened to us this year. We had money for every one except the kitchen help and the highest percentage of Indian employees are kitchen help. Dear O.E. If you give us the money we will be able to pay the kitchen help the minimum wage. Also, we'll be able to give them a 5 percent raise. Please, this is for Indians so, Please help us, God. This same district received full compensation from Johnson-O'Malley for everyone who is above USDA guidelines. In other words if you can't prove you don't need a free lunch you can get a free lunch under Johnson-O'Malley. This same district went to Johnson-O'Malley and said our food costs are going up next year, we're going to increase our lunches to 45 cents. Are you going to pay the 45 cents? Good old Johnson-O'Malley said, "You know us; old JOM never says no, we'll pay the 45 cents." The same district under the Indian Education Act unbeknown to Johnson-O'Malley applied for additional food funds because food funds are going and Johnson-O'Malley won't meet the costs and they got a total of $100,000 for their lunch program. The same district has applied to the state of New Mexico which doesn't know about the Indian Education money for another $100,000 in contingency funds because they lost on the school lunch program last year. No one has any way of knowing what the other person is doing, and the school in its infinite wisdom keeps this going by compartmentalizing all the programs. Johnson-O'Malley is over here, Indian Education is over there, this program is over here, this is your program, parents, don't ask us about anything else, that's not your business, this is your money; you pay attention to your money and you watch it and you keep your damned dirty eyes off our program. That's what happens.

I'd like to make one comment in regard to the Bureau and maybe some of you will have some questions or comments from your own experience. One problem which has beset the Bureau and the funding of its own schools, and I can't help but believe that this same problem affects public schools, is that we have never really developed within the Bureau of Indian Affairs a set of standards by which we will provide the funding of our schools. When you think about this it is really incredible. Within the Bureau school system you would think that funding would be equal on a per pupil basis in Arizona for the Hopi and for the Navajo under the same circumstances. Yet, by historical accident or design a wide disparity on a per pupil basis under the same circumstances has grown

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up. This is because in the Federal government, at least in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we have an unusual situation where no one in a centralized agency looks at the basic budgets which are requested. What happens is that when funding is made available through the Congress, essentially what occurs is that a school system says, the Navajo area or the Phoenix area gets what they got last year because they got it last year and they clearly needed it because they used it all up, plus whatever they have been able to justify as an increase. We never go back to zero and start building up on any kind of a centralized basis to determine what schools ought to get and if somebody in some area historically has really hustled and made an impact then he's gotten an increase say for perhaps special education, whatever it may be, and that disappears into the base and because he got it last year he's going to get it this year and he's going to get it next year. This has resulted in astonishing things. In the break between the fiscal years of 1969 and 1970 the Bureau got quite an increase in education financing. We had been underfunded for years and years and we needed an increase to provide a better education for kids in Indian schools. We made a real push and we got something like an 18 percent increase for funding in BIA schools. For a number of years in Alaska it had been the policy to transfer BIA schools to state operated schools, a public school system essentially. In that fiscal year or one of the fiscal years close by we transferred 19 BIA schools to the State of Alaska for operation and funding and 900 children disappeared off of the Alaska rolls as far as the BIA was concerned. In the funding what happened was that Alaska got what they had gotten the previous year plus 18 percent more for education.

Nobody in a centralized position was keeping the kinds of records and making the kinds of allocations of funds based on a series of standards that are understandable and acceptable to the Indian people that the BIA serves. I'm glad to say that we're in the process now of working on a set of standards which will I think equalize at least within the Bureau the educational funding for Indian children. An unnamed boarding school which got a level of funding somewhere in the area of $1,600,000 one particular school year had a drop in enrollment from 600 to 305 students. They got the same $1,600,000 plus about a five percent increase. No standards were being applied which would require that school system to adjust its program to accommodate 305 students versus the previous year's 600. Now when you do try to adjust you get other kinds of problems. Intermountain at Brigham City for instance is in the process of being phased out as far as the Navajo students are concerned. We have enough school rooms on the Navajo reservation for all the Navajo students. I'll tell you the Utah congressional delegation is making us jump through hoops in

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their attempts to keep that school open. They are dredging up individuals, Navajo people, who knowingly or unknowingly are saying that they like the school and that it is a good school. They'll trot somebody out or unveil a letter and say, "See Navajo parents want that school to operate." It's a complex issue in terms of school financing that needs some regularization and some rational standard on which you can apply money in assisting these Indian students. In addition there is one need at least in the Bureau We need to develop an information system that will feedback information so that after we've dished money out on some set of standards, we know that it is being spent for what it was issued. We don't have a really good financial information system.

A. Lawson: The finance issue for Indian education is complex. The Arizona Department of Education, the local districts and the BIA have controlled education. Now the Navajo Department of Education is making sounds like it is going to become a separate division of education for all Navajo schools in New Mexico, Arizona, and all the states within the Reservation. They are planning to take all the Navajo students and put them into one school district. Arizona is one example of the kind of complexity that is present in the school finance issue. In Alaska a similar situation exists. The Alaskan Native student is confronted with an educational system in which he can be in a borough school which is like a county school. I've studied this issue for hours and I couldn't understand it. They have certified towns by the size of more than 300 and less than 300, incorporated boroughs and unincorporated boroughs. All these different titles have something to do with the way that a particular district is funded. So an Alaskan Native student could be in a borough school or he could be in a state operated system school. What the state of Alaska did was take all students who were funded primarily by federal funds and put them in one school district. That means that Alaskan Natives and military dependents are together because both are primarily funded by 874 federal money. Now you have military dependents mixed into a school system with Native Alaskans. Therefore, I guess the state says that the needs of an Eskimo student from Nome are essentially the same as the son of an Air Force Colonel. In my mind Alaska has created sort of a minature BIA within the state operated system. An Alaskan Native student can also be in a private school plus the BIA system in Alaska.

In terms of states doing their homework for the Indian Education Act, the State of Washington did an excellent job. I'm in the Northwest now, and I would venture to guess that most eligible Indian students in the State of Washington got money under Title IV of the Indian Education Act. Oregon didn't do their homework. Only three school districts in the

whole State of Oregon got Title IV money and the intent of Title IV was to reach those Indian students who hadn't been reached before with federal funding. Johnson-O'Malley was legislated in 1934 to provide federal funds for Indian public schools. In 1950, the Impact Aid laws were passed. A year or so later the federal government decided that states shouldn't be eligible for both Impact Aid money and Johnson-O'Malley money. Therefore, some states chose not to use Johnson-O'Malley funds anymore. Oregon was one of those states. They chose to accept money under Impact Aid. A few years later someone discovered that even though this law was passed some states were receiving both JOM and 874 monies. When the states were asked why they were doing that, the states said they didn't know a law was in existence stating they couldn't have both. Now, if what I'm saying to you is very confusing it is because it is very confusing. Joe Abeta told me a good story one time when in Pueblo. A member of his community went in to speak to the public school board about the way the Pueblo students were treated in the Santa Clara public school system. The school board wouldn't even listen to him. They said that the Pueblos don't pay any money and they don't contribute to the support of this school. We just mentioned that an Indian student brings in money from five different sources. Probably three times the money that is provided a non-Indian student. These are the kinds of issues that are confronting Indian education. Now if what I told you is complex, that's just half of it.

The Nixon administration wants to wipe out all categorical programs and go into revenue sharing. I was over talking to Bill Demmert and no one had thought about how you are going to take care of Indians in terms of revenue sharing. Well, Bill pushed that issue and if revenue sharing in fact becomes reality and federal programs are put under one dome, then Indian students will be eligible for three percent of the total education revenue sharing money. The thing is that they threw a curve ball into that by saying that the Secretary of Interior will administer that money not only to Indian students but also to Puerto Rico. No, I don't know if that story's true.

We are all tightly entwined in the school finance issue. Quite frankly, I could use a buck. How about the Indian parent who many times is unemployed who sends his child to school and often school officials make him feel he has no right to participate in the educational process because he is not contributing to the support of that school. Let me sit down and tell my story to that Indian parent. I don't know if I've helped to confuse the issue. You know Indian education is funded at fantastic per pupil expenditures. What have its results been? I don't know. I think that's why we're here today, to discuss that issue.

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VI. New Roles for the Indian Professional: Client or System Oriented?

Chairperson: Robert Norris, University of Arizona
Kenneth Ross, Window Rock Public Schools
Anita Pfeiffer, University of New Mexico
Lilly Williams, Koyenta Elementary School
Samuel Billison, Kinlichee Boarding School

K. Ross: The Window Rock public school is a reactive system. The district reacts to outside pressures put on school administrators or board members. Not enough local input and dynamics of togetherness have been generated to produce a cohesive action system. Dissemination of accurate information is recognized as an important element of people power. Together with that was the desire for Indian people to have a voice or active involvement in the type of school system in their community. They attempted to accomplish this through an election of an all Navajo school board. Their first policy was to initiate a resolution for Indian preference in hiring of qualified personnel. Working with the established system, the recruitment function of the school had the normal channels. The majority of the teachers recruited for the system came from the deep South.

Negotiations and trade-offs were frequent, in the Window Rock district with a comparatively new staff of 60 teachers. In 1972, student walkouts, demonstrations, and statements that the school curriculum was irrelevant troubled the district. The teachers' attitudes were not in tune with what should be portrayed by professional individuals working in the area of Indian education for Indian people. A list of demands was presented which was soon answered through the initiation of new programs and staff.

The concept of client versus system in education is not an "either/or" proposition. Appropriate avenues to create change can be initiated through a cohesive action system if the present system is undesirable. Many changes need to occur, among them are: the elimination of the

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antiquated type of county superintendent in the State of Arizona, the cross-certification of teachers who are in fact teaching students of the Navajo reservation, and the reeducation of parents to become active participants in public school policies.

In 1972, the Ft. Defiance school district lost over a quarter million dollars because the students were unwilling or unable to get to school. Efforts have been made to redirect specific individuals on the staff to deal with these problems in an attempt to meet student needs.

The importance of individual rights and responsibilities were stressed in reference to conduct within an organization. Knowledge of organizational goals and the commitment to these goals by individuals insures accomplishment. We had a national AIM convention about 8 miles up the road and we had some animosity and open hostility exhibited by some AIM members toward members of our staff that were recently hired. We sat down, talked with them and found they regarded education as a necessary tool to success. Yet individual members within that organization were by their actions opposed to a lot of the things that they verbalized. So we are taking a hard look at our ultimate goals and objectives.

A. Pfeiffer: One has to work with several systems, usually those in which Indians are working. Awareness of problems within systems and realistic conception of these systems is one of the things that I felt in great need of at the University of New Mexico. I felt a need for the support of my colleagues in my ideas in terms of Indian education. I had been away from the Navajo reservation for a couple of years going to school back East. When I came back I felt I had to find out as quickly as possible whether the old problems were still there, what new ones had arisen, and what kinds of problems were being met. So one of the ways that I tried to get this whole thing together was to obtain assistance from EPDA Higher Education for a seminar called Cross-Cultural—Inter-Personal Relations for faculty people. Those professors chairing various committees and the Vice President of the University attended. Half of the group of eight were Navajo and Pueblo educators.

The object was to try to get this group of people to talk to each other about Indian education, inform me of their problems, and I would try to provide assistance in solving them. One of the things we did was go to the various Indian communities on the Navajo and the Pueblo reservations to talk with the local people. A number of the faculty who had been at UNM for a long time had a chance to hear local Indian people voice their needs and feelings, what they thought UNM's role could be and how they could resolve some of the problems. Through this I also discovered that a number of people who had been living right here had never set foot on an Indian reservation. What I was trying to do was not

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only help educate my colleagues at the University, but also to help the Indian communities realize some of the problems that the universities have and try to figure out a way to work with Indian groups.

The Navajo Division of Education has subcontracted with the University of New Mexico to train 40 teachers in the next two years so that they could be certified to teach children out on the reservation. Their goal is to have a thousand Navajo teachers teaching on the Navajo reservation in the next five years. The division has subcontracted with the University of Arizona for the same type of program.

In trying to set up the program we ran into some problems at the University, and with some of the administrators on the reservation. Some people we discovered had been taking courses from the various universities for the last ten years trying to get a degree. They were never counseled, so they were never enrolled in a specific program and therefore their credits weren't good for a particular program. We have just reviewed all of the transcripts and we also discovered that the agency that they work for never informed them as to whether they were in a program, or whether the courses they took would be counted toward a degree. We've met with some school administrators who have refused to release these teachers' aides. For instance, we have been asking for a period of 8 hours during the week so that the aides would have a chance to attend class sessions during the day rather than working all day and attending night classes. Some of the administrators wouldn't release the teacher aides because they understood that Title I regulations don't allow that kind of thing. So we've worked with the Washington people and had them inform the administrators that this is a program that is legitimate and that we would like to have aides released. There is training that needs to be done with people who are out in the field on the Navajo reservation. There are also problems that we do run into within the University itself. For example, the University would like to have all of their courses taken on campus rather than having upper level courses taught out in the various sites. Need for policy changes exists, different ways of teaching and curriculum improvement. We don't want to continue to teach the same kinds of courses that are taught at the University. Specific courses have content peculiar to various Indian tribes, and those should be taken into consideration. In the Rough Rock Demonstration School I observed a class where the elementary principal was teaching a course in basic scientific concepts. He was teaching in Navajo and getting feedback in Navajo. These kinds of things should be recorded so they can be used in developing our own Navajo courses and possibly for other tribes. There are different learning styles of Navajo children that should be taken into consideration. These are the kinds of things that should be

taught to the teachers because they don't get this kind of information.

Problems peculiar to Indian settings must be recognized, and universities must act upon these identified problems. The College of Education at the moment is very proud of the fact that I was hired. I am the first Indian they have hired with hard money. However, I feel as if I am confined to the campus since I have neither a budget nor a secretary. I scrounge around for a paper clip. There are many problems for those of us who are trying to get into new areas. Contentment could be easy to attain if I didn't do anything. But a real need has arisen both on the reservation and at the University for people to begin to change their attitudes and really consider regional needs. The College of Education at the University of New Mexico has an objective of meeting needs. Thus far this objective has been limited to the Albuquerque Public Schools.

What we are pointing out here is that there are varying systems that we and the client communities work with. Should they tackle systems as they exist now, would they be changed, or should there be some totally different structures? What about working with these systems? What do we do with cultural change? What do we do with resources that are available to us? What kinds of obstacles within the system and the community seem to be hindering our efforts? I think these are the things that we should consider as we try to explore this concept called New Roles for Indian Professionals.

L. Williams: I am Chickasaw, from Oklahoma. Arizona has been my home for a number of years. I have worked in Indian education. My first job was with the BIA. It was a way to cut my teeth and get to know Indian people of the Southwest, their needs, and some of their desires.

I am now a principal at Kayenta Public Schools. I understand from the community people that I was brought on in order to have an Indian in an administrative position in a community which had desired to have an Indian superintendent and received an Anglo one. I did quite well until the superintendent discovered I was on the side of the community. I had hired four Navajo teachers. On the first day of orientation we had a steak fry and comments were heard, "that they had to get rid of the Indian principal." As the next move, the teachers' association charged that I was violating a proposal which was put through the board last spring with regard to departmentalization and homogeneous grouping. I was against homogeneous grouping because I don't believe in Indian children or any other children being labeled dumb. However, I did move into a discussion of individualization of instruction. This means you can group homogeneously on a fluid basis, not a static basis, in terms of learning. There is actually no such thing as a totally homogeneous group. If you

can group scores on reading ability, for example, these same children who are nearly alike on certain scores will score perhaps differently on a mathematical test.

With regard to the role itself, I would see my role ideally as being a catalyst in bringing the community and the system together to work cooperatively. We talk about education being based upon the needs of the students and the community. This concept is no different in other communities, whether they be Black or Anglo. This is a universal need. It is even a more pressing need in a unique situation such as that of an Indian reservation, because the needs are different. They're unique according to tribe and unique according to specific location. We are talking in terms of education which ought to be based upon the needs and the desires of the people which the system serves.

We find a public school superimposed upon a reservation situation. In the eyes of many people the school should be able to operate as a public school entity without regard to the fact that the educators are really foreigners on the Navajo Indian Reservation. Educators should be prepared like a diplomat in the foreign service. If the community is interested in having Indian administrators, then this is a community need. If they're interested in participating in the decision making process for the program, the operation and administration of the school, then they should be involved. Hopefully, Indian people and non-Indian people who are responsive and sensitive to the needs of others should be able to operate within the public school system.

Most of our younger children are Navajo speaking, most of our teachers are Anglo, so you could imagine the possible chaos of the first day of school if we had no Navajo teacher aides. I was called on the carpet for hiring the teacher aides. I have been gutsy enough, or fool enough, to go ahead and do some things on my own, but at the same time I stand in a position of not knowing what's happening as far as the budget is concerned. One must have a certain amount of decision making power in your own job. I don't see myself as an Indian educator coming into a community saying you ought to do that, describing certain kinds of curriculum program behaviors, activities, or whatever else you want to call it. I see my role as working in the community, adapting to what they want to accomplish and how they want it accomplished.

S. Billison: I think I'll confine my comments to what we plan to do with community involvement or parent involvement at our school. My comments refer to the Kinlichee Boarding School where we have around 200 to 250 students. Probably it is the only BIA school on the Navajo reservation that has 50 percent certified teachers on the staff. Though this is

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my third year at that school, it's been pretty hard to change the people's attitude; to convince them that the staff and the school exist for the benefit of the community. The school does not exist for the principal, for the school board, or the BIA, but it is for the students. Before I came the people had never been aware of how the budget has been expended, appropriated, or what criteria had been used to get these monies. I think advantages I have are: 1) I am a Navajo; 2) I have experience in the Navajo tribal government; 3) I am a member of that community; and 4) I was able to get some training in the field of Indian education.

Regardless of the school you are part of you must be an educator, and a politician. Even if you don't live there you must belong to that community, you must work with the people. In other words, you have to talk to the parents, you have to listen to them, you have to let them come into your office, you have to go to their homes. I have meetings with the community where I explain the budget. I say here is a copy of the budget you keep it and take it home, study it, and be familiar with it and even this is very hard for them to accept. They have been so dependent upon the BIA running the educational program, getting the money, designing the curriculum and determining where these students should attend school. In the eight or nine programs we have, the community and I start with the staff and ask, what are the needs in these program areas? What does this school need most? For the last two years it has been language, art, and remedial reading. This year, we added special education. The initial recommendation made by the staff goes to the Parent Council. It is explained to them and they in turn, after about two or three meetings, recommend this to the school board and we have a meeting with the community. This has been very effective in that I feel the needs have been expressed by the people of the community themselves and not by the principal. One of the things I do is to tell my staff that each one has a responsibility, and before the year is over, each one will have been acting principal once or twice. You have to trust these people. You have to trust the community. You must delegate authority to the people with whom you work. I think this is very important. In many places I see principals draw an organizational chart placing himself on top, then the board, and then the school. No where is the community. When I construct an organizational chart, I begin with a large circle representing the community, then the school board that comes from the community, followed by the Parent Council, and then the principal. I tell them that I work with the board and the community and they should tell me what some of their needs are. I think this aspect has been missing in many schools and continues to be neglected. I think from my model, the community recognizes what we are trying to do. As an example, I

try to tell the students: you should have more freedom, you should feel free, you should feel that you are here because you want to be here. In other words, I asked the staff, "why do you have to line up the students to see who is here? Why do you have to march them to the mess hall?" I said, "you march them to the mess hall but they all manage to come back on their own." They find their place, so I say let's cut this marching stuff out. Let's pick some leaders, and let them check among themselves who is not here. Let the kids walk to the dining room, let them come back, they know where it is, it's just up about three buildings. This has really changed the attitude of the kids, they don't have to run away.

The principal preceding me at Kinlichee allowed the students to go home only once each month. One of the things that was really hard for me to sell to the community was to let them go home every Friday. At first they thought I was crazy. I explained to them, "Look, they have three days at home, four days here. We give them a lot of work here at school and at the end of four days they would be wishing to go home and they do. They go home and they have some culture, some Indian food, whatever is necessary for them to make a living. You work them hard at home, in three days they will be wanting to come back to school." This schedule appears to be working as hoped.

Last year Colorado State College requested some funds to research the Kinlichee Boarding School power structure. They want to know: Is the principal telling the board what to do? Is he telling the community what they should do? They found just the opposite. When I think of BIA I think of the square because of its rigidness, because of the regulations that you must follow or lose your job. We at Kinlichee are staying within the square while attempting to round-off the corners to fit our needs. This year Arizona University is planning to evaluate the development of curriculum at our school. We tried to do some of our own development in this area. We also sent our teacher aides, parent council and staff to school. I think I can safely say that in the last two years, everybody was in summer school except the janitor. The janitor is not under the principal's jurisdiction, he is under plant management; that is the only reason he got away. We have our cooks in some type of workshop, our teacher aides all have 40 hours or more college work. We do this by extending our 89-10 program three or four months and this gets them well into the first summer session and then the second session last summer we were able to get some Science Foundation funds.

I tell my staff that we don't have very many textbooks, we don't have very many things that other schools have. We have to use what little we have and try to supplement with something of our own and then do the best we can with what is available. A lot of people are saying that we

are going to be the next contract school but I have a different story for them. Contracted school is very difficult, you just get so much money and you have to operate contract schools with that money you receive. Now at a regular Bureau school like Kinlichee, we use a lot of services from the area office, from what they call an agency office, such as plant management to take care of lights and utilities. This does not come from educational funds. If we were a contracted school and given some funds we would have to pay for all these services. As a Bureau school, many of our services are in existing budgets of other agencies and offices. I have a few recommendations that I would like people to think about because I dwell on these concerns. Number one, is that we are talking about financing, and I feel that schools should be financed on the basis of students needs as opposed to simply counting pupils. We need to get away from the one to thirty ratio. (One teacher to thirty students). The civil service regulations must be changed in order to do this. In other words, let's say I have grades K-8, that's 10 teachers. Maybe some of them have 24, some of them 20, some of them 30, and some of them 34. Instead of the Bureau saying, "Gee, you have 8 grades, that will be 8 teachers." Instead, they are asking how many students we have and then dividing the number by 30 and come out with six or seven teachers. They don't give you a formula nor do they give you a system where they say seven teachers with six aides can take care of ten classes. They say do what you can. They should define school needs on a current year basis, not last year's conditions. The Bureau financing should likewise be based upon the current year. In both services and program categories, we often receive funds budgeted in previous years to meet a specific need. Even though the need may no longer exist, the funds are again received.

For instance, last year we had a special education program. This year we do not, yet we received money for special education. The Indian boarding school needs a little more authority because right now they are only in an advisory capacity.

I think that as Indians we should demand more certified teachers and more certified school administrators for our schools. You would be surprised how many non-certified school administrators we have. If you are going to have a factory, producing a certain product you need a manager to control the process, to see that the task is completed. I think a school is this type of business. We should look at it as a business situation, because you get so much money and you would like to have so much production. I would like to see how the amount of money we get brings these students to a certain stage and enhances their ability to move forward. The Bureau recruiting system needs to be improved. Last

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year a university librarian was sent at the last minute by the area office. I was supposed to do everything to pursuade her to teach in our elementary school. She was a librarian. They just sent her to me because we had a vacancy and needed a teacher in the classroom. Consequently, we had a librarian try to teach young students for nine months. In another year they started to give us a teacher whose major was not in education. His major was in religion. We already have two religions. Finally, we need to demand or request massive programs to train Indian teachers and Indian administrators. I don't mean to set up a special program where you would not be qualified to administer educational programs elsewhere. An Indian administrator should be able to walk into any school, private school, public school, BIA school and be able to function. I don't like the idea of giving Indians shortcuts so that they can get a job. If you ask parents who they would like to have teaching their child, the answer is a qualified teacher. I know because I have talked with many parents.

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VII. The Politics of Indian Education: Diffusion or Coalition?

Chairperson: William Demmert, United States Office of Education
G. W. Harrell, Deputy Commissioner of Education, Arizona
Myron Jones, Indian Education Training Center, New Mexico
Frank Ducheneau, House of Representatives Staff

G. W. Harrell: For many years, Arizona has been very interested in the education of Indians, particularly since it has more Indian students attending the various schools than any other state in the Union.

Indeed, politically and financially Arizona needs any and all assistance it can obtain to manage its educational situation. Due to federally and state owned land in Arizona, namely the Indian reservation and the national forests, less than 18 percent of Arizona's property is available to the state for taxation. This particularly influences the revenue raising capability for educational purposes, not to mention the state government operations. Thus, it is no wonder that education for Indians has become extremely political.

For years, Arizona has been attempting to organize an Indian education unit within the State Department of Education that would be staffed by Indians who would work with other Indians in designing educational programs and train local Indian school board members to be efficacious managers. Although Arizona has not made significant strides in Indian education, it is trying very hard to do so. For example, it has recently hired its first Indian Director of Indian Education, Mr. Terrence Leonard.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has questioned the seriousness of Arizona's intention to develop an Indian Education Division in the State Department. Probably this was the impetus for researching Arizona's responsibility for educating Indians. For too long the basic policy for educating Indians in Arizona has been one of benign neglect. It now wants

to accept its portion of responsibility if the federal government will do likewise. I believe that the various states have always assumed that the education of Native Americans was a federal responsibilty. Historically, the constitutional government entered into treaties with tribes of Indians containing educational provisos. Following this contract, Congress began making appropriations and provisions for educating Indians throughout the existing states. This was as early as December of 1794. In interpreting the words of Congress, "The means of instruction can be introduced with their (Indian) own consent for teaching their children reading, writing and arithmetic," it is clear that the federal government made a commitment to educate Native Americans and not the various states. This should and does still stand as the legal basis for educating Native Americans.

Through the Department of Interior the Federal government has developed an agency, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to generate various educational schemes for Native Americans. For example, boarding schools, day schools, and special supplementary funds for public schools with Indian children. In Arizona, Alaska, and New Mexico some dormitory programs were instituted with such funds. In the latter case, Public Law 874 became a means of assisting the respective states to provide an education for Native American children and Public Law 815 was the means for constructing the dormitory facilities. Although Public Law 874 was passed in 1950, it was not used as a form of educational finance for Native Americans until 1958. Even more ironical was the delay in use of Johnson-O'Malley funds (passed in 1934), a supplementary fund for the education of Native Americans, until 1958. Perhaps the use of Johnson-O'Malley became prevalent as a result of the use of the school construction funds, Public Law 815. As you may already know, each state may enter a contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs for special funding to assist in the financial burden of educating Native American children in public schools. These contracts may vary from state to state. For instance, Arizona's contract provides that a budget should be balanced for the public schools where there are Indian Children.

Working as the Administrative Assistant to the Governor of Arizona at one time and Deputy Commissioner of Education of Arizona, I have worked very closely with several Arizona Indian Tribes. By experience I am well aware of the existing political interplay among the governmental, educational, and tribal structures that deal with the education of Native Americans. Furthermore, I am a firm advocate of Indian self-determination, particularly in the sphere of education. From this basic political belief, it is possible to improve our collective actions of edu-

cational planning, implementation and outcome. Not inconsistent with this is the desire of Native Americans to participate in and execute their own decisions not only in the field of education but in other spheres of social activity.

It is self-evident, at least to me, that the processes by which Native Americans have created social reform has not been one of uniformity but of diffuse methods. The main catalyst for social change in Native American communities has been self-determination. It is, therefore, not difficult to see why tribal communities have consistently returned to the original treaties containing the provisos for education . . . with consent. The crucial question, of course is, who is responsible for giving advice on Indian policies and who may give consent? From the very beginning, this ambiguous accountability has created undue chaos. One way to handle this problem is for future legislation to address the needs of the Indian people in the processes of policy planning, implementation, and evaluation. In my opinion, the very definition of the word politics must not exclude these activities. My final words are directed to the victims of the system, the Native Americans, "Who are your politicans? Who speaks for you?"

M. Jones: I would like to discuss briefly three issues related to legislation and Native Americans. One issue has to do with legislation that in fact is not Indian education legislation but affects it. The second issue is the whole notion of coalition of interest on legislative actions. And, the third issue is the need for administrative controls complementing legislation to enhance legislative impact.

On the first issue I would like to use the school lunch and school breakfast program as a prime illustration of the legislation that strongly affects Indian education. Normally, this would not be listed as a bill affecting Indians, yet it does so very greatly. In fact, for the last couple of years the federal government administratively threatened to veto, both affirmatively and negatively, school lunch, milk, and other food subsidy programs. This attitude has caused a number of public schools to back away from the programs altogether, particularly the lunch and breakfast programs. For instance, Gallup, New Mexico, having the largest Indian population in the country cancelled its breakfast program last summer. The Gallup School Board passed a resolution in August 1973 stating that if they did not break even financially on their lunch program within thirty days, they were going to cancel the school lunch program for needy children, in spite of the fact that 90 percent of the children on the school lunch program were Navajos. Within this legislation, you will find an educational attitude which could be termed "fumbling for the check." Behavior indicative of irresponsibility; essentially expressed as, "I am not going to do it unless they do it

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and then he is not going to do it, unless they do it." Finally, nobody does it and everybody is happy except the Indian students who do not get lunches.

Similarly, in the words of one school district, and most other school districts that have dropped the school lunch program have been, "We are tired of taking a loss on school lunches. We are operating in the red." This is financial, profit motive, business institution language. It is completely arbitrary to conclude that if it costs $50,000 more to produce lunches than your income from lunches that you are necessarily taking a loss. Why can't the school, while waiting for federal action, simply budget that cost. In fact, no one knows that an improvement in classroom curriculum has more effect on learning than a school breakfast program. No one knows that this is true at all. It may be that a school breakfast program has far greater impact on children's ability to learn than an entirely revamped program of instruction. It may be that a school breakfast program is more important than political issues such as community control. It may be that a lunch program is more important than a school breakfast program. The point is that these questions are too often overlooked and equally frequently they do become important political legislative questions.

Furthermore, in 1973 nationally, 800,000 children were dropped from the lunch program. The 800,000 children who demonstrated the need for a school lunch program were not able to participate in it because schools may have or may not have participated in a lunch program. Once a school participates it is stuck. If the school runs out of money or the federal government does not give the school money, the school has to produce the money one way or another, be it by robbing grocery stores, or hijacking Piggly Wiggly trucks. Often unknown to the parents and frequently unknown to the school board members, schools threaten to drop these programs due to the lack of funds. What was and still is a local responsibility becomes relegated to the federal government. By disclaiming their responsibility, the local people feel free to say things like, "Washington people don't care when our kids go hungry." Curiously enough the fact that the people in Washington do not care about whether the children go hungry is not discussed either. The reason, in part, may be due to the confusion with another legislative issue, namely Johnson-O'Malley which is a federal program that may also be used for various education purposes of Native Americans. However, New Mexico is the only state in the country where Johnson-O'Malley funds are used for school lunches. This accounts for only 1/10th of the USDA lunches served in New Mexico. It is a fact that 90 percent of the Indian children in this country can be fed on the school lunch programs provided their

school accepts the federal program. This is very important in critical legislative issues. Unfortunately, it is simply not touched on by the Indian communities. If you are interested in knowing more about school lunch and school breakfast programs a recommended source of information is the Children's Foundation. The Foundation has a technical assistance program. The assistants will mail you an information packet within 24 hours of your call.

The second issue has to do with the whole notion of coalitions of interest in legislative activity. I would like to use myself as an example to illustrate what one should not do if you desire a coalition for a particular action. In the past, I have been very critical of Arizona's educational policy, as Mr. Harrell can attest. I have had heated discussions with Arizona school superintendents about construction money. The opposing arguments have traditionally been that no further school reform or improvement is possible unless there is school construction money forthcoming. My consistent reaction to this response has been one of anger to say the least. The fact is that no one wants to talk about the state's position because that position is centered only on school construction funds. My attitude has always been to refuse to talk to them about construction and to attempt to discuss with them what I consider to be more important school matters. The tenacity with which I pursue my arguments is matched by the strength with which they cling to their position. The end result is that no one heard anything at any time. Indeed, this is most unfortunate.

As I reflect upon these events I now know that if I had to do it again, I would talk about school construction funds then attempt to get them to talk about other programs and issues. However, the fact remains that school construction needs are a very serious problem. According to data collected by United States Office of Education through Public Law 815, $340,000,000 were needed in public schools alone. A special report by the Bureau of Indian Affairs cited the same figure $340,000,000. This duplication of effort pertaining to needs assessment may be confusing, but at the time there was no way that one department could know what the other department was doing. The primary reason there has been negligible support for construction programs appears to be the content of Public Law 815. For example, the need for Public Law 815 funds is determined by the Indian population in the particular school district. However, when the money is secured by the district, the district alone decides where it is to be spent. Unfortunately, a common pattern has been to spend all of the P.L. 815 money on non-Indian schools in the district. Gallup, for instance, used its P.L. 815 money to construct school

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buildings in the city instead of the surrounding rural areas where needs were greatest. The perennial answer to the rural schools has been to wait until more P.L. 815 funds can be procured the following year. Furthermore, when these federal funds were completely expended, the district had to rely on bond issues. When that came to pass, 75 percent of the bond issue went to the city of Gallup. Thus, the initial inequities persist. There has been a specific court ruling on this precise problem. In the Natonabaah decision the federal district court of New Mexico ruled that in such an instance, it is illegal for any school district to use bond money exclusively for non-Indian schools and to depend entirely on P.L. 815 construction funds to meet Indian needs. This is particularly important when we recall that P.L. 815 has not historically been used primarily to meet Indian school needs. However, I think that there can still be a coalition of interests in issue areas such as school construction: by state education organizations, Indian parents, school boards, school lobbying groups, and Indian leaders in education. Legislation that would specifically avoid a repeat of the Gallup, New Mexico, situation, misadministration of Johnson-O'Malley funds, should be sought, possibly through a coalition of interests. However, the present problem is that there is no money. Mr. Frank Ducheneau will discuss a Bill, S 1017, which proposes $30,000,000 a year for school construction. Unfortunately, at this rate of yearly funding, it would take twelve years to catch up with existing needs to say nothing of the needs that will develop within the next twelve years. It is simply inadequate. Mr. G. W. Harrell and I disagree on a great number of things but we adamantly agree on this point. Therefore, we ought to find some way to get together on this particular issue as well as other issues for alone we stand to lose much more than we would together.

The third issue centers around legislation and the administrative procedures for enforcing the intent of the various bills. I think that if you took all the bills that could be used for Indian education, including the Office of Education bills and Bureau of Indian Affairs funds not specifically for construction, probably there would be enough money appropriated annually on the federal, state, and local levels to take care of Indian education needs right now.

F. Ducheneau: First, I would like to disclaim any particular knowledge or expertise in Indian education programs and legislative solutions to the problems related to these programs. Probably a large part of the expert knowledge is right here today. Perhaps my contribution is one of information regarding the types of legislation that are pending before the Congress which may have a direct/indirect bearing on Indian education and the possibilities of enacting legislation. Of course, this is not to

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say that the Congress and its Committees would not make the final determination on the form of legislation that emerges, but only to say that the result would depend in large part on information channeled from people, such as yourselves, to the committee hearings as well as other sources of information.

Before discussing legislation, it seems appropriate to first mention the Indian Education Act of 1972. As you know, the appropriations committee needs to compromise concerning jurisdiction over consideration of the budget for that program. Normally, if that program came out of the two Health, Education and Welfare Committees of the Congress, the budget would have been considered by the appropriations subcommittee handling the Health, Education and Welfare budget. However, they came to an agreement in both the Appropriations Committee and the Interior Subcommittee of Appropriations. It is rather unusual that the House Education Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee do agree. They will retain substantive jurisdiction over this type of legislation since it is administered through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. As you may know, the Interior budget has been in conference and the conference reports have been delivered to both houses. Money will be available very soon.

There are three bills before Congress which could have an impact on Bureau of Indian Affairs and public schools. The major legislation pending before the Congress which would directly affect Indian education is S. 1017. This is the Administration bill, to amend the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934. It would authorize Indian tribes to enter into contracts beyond the sphere of education. The administration bill sets up the Assumption of Control bill, again, authorizing Indian tribes to assume control of Bureau of Indian Affairs programs and Indian Health Service programs on the reservations. The impact of this bill on education is that it gives expanded opportunity to tribes to take over the Bureau of Indian Affairs school operations on the reservations. For example, this may allow tribes to establish their own school boards which is now possible through the 1910 Bi-Indian Act. However, the Bi-Indian Act is much more restrictive than the Assumption Control Bill. Similarly, the administration has set up H.R. 9011, the Indian Tribal Government Grant Act, which provides authority to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service to make grants to Indian tribes to assume control on a mutually agreed basis with respect to programs operated on the reservations. Essentially, this bill is the same as the Assumption of Control Bill.

These three bills do have some implications for Indian education. At the minimum, these bills attempt to provide means for greater tribal involvement in the education of its children.

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Returning to the specifics of the major legislation, S. 1017, you should note the two titles and subparts contained in this bill. Title I is a general contracting authority for Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian health programs, again, getting into the Bureau of Indian Affairs responsibility for Indian education and authorizing the Bureau of Indian Affairs to contract primarily with Indian tribes, organizations, and subdivisions of the tribes to take control of the schools on the reservations. But, more importantly, Title II of the bill entitled "Indian Education Reform Act 1973," has a direct effect on public schools educating Indians. One expert on Title II is Linda Oxendine who worked with Forest Girard on revisions. Title II contains six parts. Part A of Title II, entitled "Education of Indians in Public Schools," is essentially a specific amendment of the Johnson-O'Malley Act. It amends Johnson-O'Malley by providing that the Secretary of the Department of Interior can contract with the state and state subdivisions and Indian tribes to carry out Indian education programs in the public schools. Part A does establish comprehensive guidelines for how these programs will be operated by the contractor. Part B of Title II authorizes appropriations and grants to be made to colleges and other institutions developing professionals in Indian education. The development of Indian professionals includes teachers, school administrators, and other specialists in the Indian school setting. This section, Part B, speaks to the staffing of schools where there are Indian children, while Part C of Title II speaks to the school construction needs for Indian children. Part C is essentially no different than Public Law 815. So far, the authorized appropriations for Part C are $30,000,000 which Mr. Myron Jones alluded to earlier as inadequate funding in view of the great need for school construction. Part C has restrictions that will hopefully minimize misuse and abuse of funds. The significance of these restrictions has already been mentioned by Mr. Jones. Thus, we need not dwell upon it. The next section is directed at high school and college students, rather than establishment and maintenance of institutions. Part D of Title II authorizes a youth intern program to be administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs permitting Indian college students and high school students to go to Washington, D.C. or other areas as an intern in Indian education. Part D has authorized $10,000,000 or $15,000,000 for three fiscal years for this program. Similarly, Part E of Title II authorizes grants to colleges and other organizations to do research and development in the area of Indian education. In addition, it carries an appropriation of $2,000,000 to $3,000,000 per year. The last section of Title II, Part F, deals with adult vocational and early childhood education. Part F authorizes the Secretary of the Department of Interior to make grants and contracts with schools

and other organizations for adult vocational and early childhood education. This concludes the brief summary on S. 1017. At this point, the Senate Committee is ready to report this legislation to the floor and its passage by the Senate seems likely. As a matter of fact Congressman Meade, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs in the House Education and Labor Committee, has indicated extreme interest in this bill, and will more than likely give us a great deal of support on it.

If Congress continues until November before adjourning for Christmas, then our subcommittee may well have hearings on this legislation and other similar legislation. However, I do not think that we will see any direct Indian legislation enacted by this Congress with the possible exception of S. 1017 or some facsimile.

Recently, the Senate considered Joint Resolution 133. This resolution would establish an Indian Policy Review Commission composed of five senators, five congressmen, and five Native Americans. The Commission would exist for two years with a sizeable budget and would be charged to conduct an investigation of Indian policy including treaties, laws, social, economic, educational, and political issues. In short, a full and complete investigation concerning Indian issues and problems would be done. This study should be useful in legislative issue areas as well as in other policy areas. This covers generally the legislative efforts currently pending before the Congress.

W. Demmert: It is appropriate at this time for conference participants to as' questions and/or make comments. One question I do have for Mr. M. Jones concerns his numerous objections to S. 1017. What are your objections?

M. Jones: My objections to the original S. 1017 were numerous, nine pages worth to be exact. My major objection to the original bill was that it forced programs on people. For example, it stated that there would be one counselor for every 50 students; one teacher aide for every 20 students; and that education committees on the local level would have no choice. I understand that there is now a revised version which I have reviewed only briefly this very morning.

In this newer version I object to the section addressing tax rates and comparable school districts. Unfortunately, the people who actually operate the various (JOM) programs in the state do not take that language seriously. "Comparable school district" does not mean a thing to school finance people. The comparable size has to be defined by some financial formula which in the past has been nicely omitted. However, in this revised bill there is some attempt to include a formula. Essentially, the bill states that districts should have a fair tax rate and

that it should be levied on taxable property within the school district educating Native Americans. This rate would be determined by averaging the property values of five non-Indian school districts of comparable enrollment. Therefore, in order for a district to be eligible for Johnson-O'Malley, it has to have a tax rate that is at least the average of five non-Indian districts that have approximately the same number of pupils. In the past, I have complained about how school districts take undue advantage of Johnson-O'Malley while refusing to spend their own money. However, now I strongly object to this formula because it would exclude a lot of low impact school districts with Native American pupils. Many of the districts presently receiving Johnson-O'Malley are less than 50 percent Indian. In fact, most of these low impact districts are less than 35 percent Indian. In many cases these districts have tax rates that are now lower than the tax rates of five comparable non-Indian districts, yet the Indians, who are the major source of funds, do not control the politics in the districts.

If you were to put it to the voter and say: "Dear Fellows: There is now legislation which tells us that we have to raise our tax levy to this average or we won't be able to receive Johnson-O'Malley funds for our Indian students. So, please vote accordingly." The voters in these districts are going to vote against the tax increase. The result will be that the schools will be in the same situation that now exists in Arizona where districts below the average for Johnson-O'Malley are simply squeezed out of funds. They do not get Johnson-O'Malley funds because they are below the average tax levy. Districts accept this situation because it is easier to do without Johnson-O'Malley than to ask tax payers to pay more. However, in those districts of Washington, New Mexico, Arizona, Wisconsin, and Minnesota where the Indian percentage is quite low they cannot get the non-Indians to arbitrarily raise their tax rate simply to make themselves eligible for the funds.

QUESTION: On the question of desegregation and school financing, how does one prevent decreases in taxation? Can one combine monies such as school construction funds and other compensatory education funds, for example Title I and so forth?

ANSWER: No. You can combine school construction funds with the issue of bonding to capacity so that you do receive the funds. Since school construction is big money it is worth every effort to obtain funds. For example, New Mexico has obtained $140,000,000 in school construction funds.

QUESTION: What do you think of Arizona's willingness to bond to capacity?

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ANSWER: At one time Window Rock, Arizona, bonded itself to capacity in order to add to Public Law 815 for the construction of schools. The fact is that we are asking for Public Law 815 funds or other school construction funds for Indian reservations in order to construct facilities that are already on the drawing board by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There seems to be a lot of duplication.

Right now it would be impossible for me or anyone else to answer any questions about what is going to happen through federal legislation in Arizona. Particularly in view of the last session of the state legislature when it voided all educational laws pertaining to educational finances until June 30th next year. A special session will be held on the 17th of October, 1973 to redesign the old system. At that time a review of federal laws, proposed federal legislation, construction, maintenance, operation, school lunch programs, and other important areas of schooling will be examined.

W. Demmert: I would like to pursue a statement Mr. Harrell made regarding Arizona's avoidance of all school legislation. Are you telling us that unless the state legislature acts and drafts something there will be no legislation dealing with education in the state of Arizona?

G. W. Harrell: On or off the reservation, in effect, they are forcing themselves to act to redesign the statute pertaining to education. They did it intentionally with a full study as to why they were doing it. As a matter of fact, I think proposals are being submitted right now. Presently, there are six proposals by groups or individual state legislators. Arizona, like Kansas and North Carolina, is redesigning the system of education this year. However, Kansas and North Carolina are in a difficult bind for they did not pay enough attention to federal statutes. For example, most of their new laws will prevent any school district from participating in federal programs. Thus, we in Arizona are attempting to be as careful as possible in order to avoid similar errors.

At one time in the late 50's New Mexico held a special session in which school planning was separated from school maintenance and curriculum discussions. This simplified the work but often was not completely satis-

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factory in the long run. Essentially separating the two sessions made the process less cumbersome.

M. Jones: I have one question on legislation of different state policies. In one section of S. 1017 which speaks of the Bordertown Dormitory Programs, it states that school districts enrolling Indian students who reside in federal dormitories within such districts but whose family residence is not within the affected state shall be reimbursed for the full per capita cost for educating such students. But for those students whose family residence is within the affected state the federal payment shall be reduced by the state share of the per pupil cost. The oddity is that the contract for all of these dormitory programs both in Arizona and New Mexico are handled out of the Window Rock Bureau of Indian Affairs office. Thus, there is not a problem of cooperative effort with the people in the adjacent state for the same people do it for both states.

In New Mexico, the state pays state tuition for all students in the dormitory program and the state support averages about 70 percent of the total support for school districts in this state. So the state pays it completely and the Bureau of Indian Affairs pays it completely. Thus, they collect twice. These are technically Johnson-O'Malley funds. It appears in the Johnson-O'Malley budget which is why it reappears in S. 1017, but actually it neither runs through a state plan nor through an intertribal organization where they exist. It goes directly from the Bureau of Indian Affairs office to the school district. For example, last year in Albuquerque, New Mexico, they collected $240,000 in Bordertown money as tuition. The state paid $240,000 for 240 children, 140 of these pupils were from New Mexico and the state paid tuition for them. That is a clear profit and they do not run any special programs. Now, in Arizona it is different. Arizona does not pay state tuition for in-state students in Bordertown public school programs. By my reading of the Arizona state constitution, they are entitled to the state education payment which is not being received. The state reasons: why should we pay when the Bureau of Indian Affairs can pay. Whereas the neighboring state, New Mexico, is beginning to say, "If you are going to pay the full tuition perhaps the state of New Mexico should stop

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paying the tuition that it presently does." The Attorney General of New Mexico ruled that the state of New Mexico must pay for its own residents. So out of one Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office you have two totally different policies in neighboring states not resulting from a difference in state laws but merely a difference in what the state feels like doing. Relative to this disparity of payment the tax levy issue worries me.

For the last five years, the school district of Los Alamos, New Mexico, has had the lowest tax levy in the state. This district obtains funds from two main sources: the Atomic Energy Commission and Johnson-O'Malley. Furthermore, these funds are obtained without question. Thus, the motivation for raising the tax levy is very low. Whereas in the state of Arizona, if the school district is below the average tax levy the district is unable to obtain Johnson-O'Malley money. In both cases, the distribution of funds is by the same law and same regulations. Unfortunately, this discrepancy is due to an absence of clear and concise rules and regulations governing distribution. I emphasize again that these administrative irregularities must be dealt with in the legislation or they will be confronted afterwards. School districts in the Bordertown program are saying that their in-state students shall have the federal contribution reduced by the state share of the per pupil cost. What if, as in the state of Arizona, the state view is that it has no share? What does the pupil do?

G. W. Harrell: The contract to operate an educational program for Indian children in a peripheral dormitory should be changed. It is time for rewriting the contract under the present proposed statute. Unfortunately, Congress passes laws without accompanying rules and regulations for enforcing the intent of these laws. Instead, an administrative arm of the federal government draws up the rules and regulations which may or may not coincide with the intent of Congress. This is a major problem when it comes to implementation of the law. However, there is something we can do. When the rules and regulations are written by a particular federal department, they are published in the federal register. At this point you can object to the rules and regulations by rewriting them and submitting changes. There is a certain length of time, after

the original rules and regulations have been registered, in which one must respond if there are objections.

I am not recommending that this be the only way we deal with legislation affecting the education of Native Americans. I think that we should all join together in working for clear and well defined legislation.

M. Jones: I think one part of the administrative question resulting from legislation pertains to administration questions remaining beyond those addressed by the guidelines and regulations. Where do you go and who do you consult about the confusion in places like Arizona. For example, in Arizona everything is handled in the Phoenix Area Office. The exception being Navajo education under the Bureau of Indian Affairs which is handled in Window Rock. The Navajo public school education is handled in Phoenix. An instance of this administrative confusion is the following: Navajos have often gone to the Window Rock Office to ask questions about public school education and this office has had no definite answer to whatever the problem may be since this is not their administrative purview but Phoenix's. Unfortunately, the Window Rock Office is reluctant to admit its powerlessness over public schools servicing Navajo pupils. Thus, the Window Rock Office feels more comfortable assuring the people that things will be okay. This same situation occurred in Oklahoma where people for years believed in the Western Tribal members who dealt with the Anadardo Area Office. In this case the people of Oklahoma assumed that Johnson-O'Malley came out of the Anadardo Area Office. In actuality it came out of Muskogee, Oklahoma. Again, the Anadardo Area Office was reluctant to admit its powerlessness over Johnson-O'Malley. Rather than admit that they had nothing to do with it, they would sit and chat over coffee about Johnson-O'Malley. Thus, the problem is not one that legislation and regulations can ameliorate for it is purely a local problem. Local people have to begin to say, "This is where we want to go, this is who we want to talk to, and this is how this person will be our liaison to X and Y programs. In addition, if this liaison cannot be established then the whole attempt to tighten the enforcement procedure is lost." This would certainly reduce the kinds and numbers of communica-

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tion problems that have existed to date.

QUESTION: As a state education department official, do you feel that Arizona ought to pay the tuition for Indian children in public schools, Mr. Harrell?

G. W. Harrell: Arizona should not have to pay tuition for Indian children in public schools. I think this is a federal responsibility. Based upon the treaties through 1868, the education of Indians was and is definitely a federal responsibility and not a state responsibility. According to the language of these treaties, for every Indian child attending public school in Arizona the federal government will provide the state funds in the same amount as any other child attending a public school in Arizona be it on or off the reservation.

QUESTION: What about Bordertown schools, Mr. Harrell?

G. W. Harrell: I have every reason to believe that my perspective on contracting between the state and the bordertown program is a necessary and important one. Essentially, it would state that there will be state aid forthcoming.

M. Jones: Let me say something about that thought because what you are implying is that a contract is the only solution. For the last two years New Mexico has paid for all New Mexico Indian students in the Bordertown program in spite of the 20 year contract. The contract did not say that you could not do that. In addition, New Mexico, excepting the last two years, paid for Arizona and Utah Indian students in the Bordertown program as if they were New Mexico residents. I think perhaps this was less generosity than confusion. Nevertheless, they did pay. I think New Mexico should be given credit for this. The rip-offs have always been with the Albuquerque, New Mexico, public schools who have received double funding. This issue has therefore become a critical one.

You say that the state constitution makes no distinction as to race and that state is responsible for providing free public education. I do not understand why the state of Arizona still is not responsible for free public education for Indian students even though they happen to live at night in a Bordertown dormitory. What does where they live at night have to do with free public education? My question is, why isn't the state still obligated to provide

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free public education.

G. W. Harrell: I think that the new contract will determine that the state is obligated. Personally, I do not believe that the state is obligated but rather the federal government. My personal feelings are based upon the Indian treaties and executive orders issued. The Indians who do not have treaties with the United States and those Tribal Councils operating under an executive order that some United States President and Congress approved all have provisos stating that the federal government would provide an education. In most instances, the provisos stated a ratio of one teacher per 30 pupils. This is my personal interpretation of the constitution of the United States, the constitution of Arizona, and the statutes of both the country and Arizona.

W. Antell: Does the Department of Interior have legal obligations to Indian pupils wherever they may live?

G. W. Harrell: I do not think the administration has changed its position on whether the Snyder Act extends that far or not. The administration was of the opinion that they did not have the responsibility based upon the decision of the (?) Lease/Lee's case. The administration was of this opinion even after the decision that the Snyder Act was not that broad. Thereby not holding the administration responsible for urban Indian problems and programs.

The jurisdiction I was speaking of concerns the commissioner and the transfer of jurisdiction with respect to consideration of budgets within: intra-community decisions, the corporation committee, and that which the Interior subcommittee and Julia Butler's tribal subcommittee would have jurisdiction to consider under the 1972 Indian Education Act; rather than jurisdiction of the Interior subcommittee, which is over the Senate subcommittee dealing with Health, Education and Welfare. That was the decision made within the Appropriations Committee. I do think neither the Education and Labor Committee in the House, nor the Labor and Welfare Committee in the Senate is going to consent to give up substantive jurisdiction over any program authorized by legislation and administered by Health, Education and Welfare. Therefore, if an amendment were proposed for the 1972 Indian Education Act dealing with Health, Edu-

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cation and Welfare administrative responsibilities under the Act, the legislation would probably still be referred to the Education Labor Committee and Labor and Public Welfare Committee rather than the Interior Committee of the Department of Interior for determination of the extent of the Snyder Act.

QUESTION: The following questions are directed to Mr. M. Jones. If I understood correctly did you not say that there is probably enough money from the Office of Education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Title VII, and Title IV for the education of Indian children? If there is enough money or more than enough money, what kind of financing scheme do you suggest? Do you agree with the advocacy of Indian controlled schools?

M. Jones: No. What I meant was that I did not think that there was enough money even if you counted construction money. However, if you simply totalled the conventional appropriations including money such as ESEA Title I money that could be or could not be used for Indians depending on the district, I think there is in actual appropriated cash enough money in Washington. The money is often unworkable, contradictory, or administered improperly. As an organization we have been interested in this question of conflict between Title IV, Part A and Johnson-O'Malley. If you read the Johnson-O'Malley Act, you will find that public schools are not even mentioned nor are they mentioned in the Johnson-O'Malley amendment. They do not get mentioned until regulations time rolls around. Although clearly, public schools were a major factor in the passage of the Johnson-O'Malley Act. But as Johnson-O'Malley has evolved it has become similar to the Indian Education Act, Part A. So there is now this question of overlapping funds. A year ago there began some discussion about how Part A of the Indian Education Act and Johnson-O'Malley might fit together.

There are several alternative financing schemes depending on what kind of money is being used and the types of programs desired. Being more familiar with Johnson-O'Malley one suggestion would be to allow communities to do what they feel is best with this money. If the Indian community believes that the friendly local public school can do some things better than they themselves can, then

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they should turn some of their funds over to the public school. Another suggestion focuses on the hiring of counselors with Johnson-O'Malley funds. There are districts where counselors have been hired with this fund. However, I think that people have in mind an Indian equivalent of that nice lady on Room 222, who knows how to talk to kids and is pretty. Well, people have found to their dismay that counselors are often an arm of the school administration. Essentially, a public relations person for the school administration. In the days prior to counselors, parents took their concerns directly to the school administrator. Today the common practice is to deal with the counselor whose job is to placate, soothe, and obscure issues whenever possible. Furthermore, many counselors are very good at this. Thus, it is understandable that some people do not wish to hire these counselors with Johnson-O'Malley money. One very practical and simple way to handle a situation such as this, where you wish to maintain the position of a counselor, is for the people to say, "You may have your counselor and you may pay your counselor. We want our children to have this kind of a counselor. Furthermore, our counselor is not going to work in your school system. We have decided that we are better off having a counselor outside of the school." This technique could be applied to anything else you wanted with Johnson-O'Malley funds.

However, it would be absurd to pretend that public schools can satisfactorily maintain Indian culture programs. They could not even teach about China when I was a kid. What's China . . . it is where people have bound feet, eat Chinese food and run Chinese laundries. Public schools have proven to my satisfaction that they cannot handle any social sciences. How are they going to teach Indian culture? Yet, this is the present trend. There is a Title IV Indian Education Grant in this state for the district to purchase Indian culture mobiles. The mobiles will be driven out to the hogan to show Navajos what it is to be a Navajo. It is cheaper to put wheels on a hogan, than to try to cart it around. This is a genuine issue. A lot of people are saying they want various kinds of programs, but they are speaking in very ambiguous, contradictory ways. The people do not want the schools to do

this for them, or the people know that the schools are incapable of accomplishing what they want. Yet, the people themselves could operate these programs if they wanted to do so.

One of the most valuable ideas in Indian education training is that you do not begin with legislation nor programs nor curriculums but rather with a question to the community. The question is who do you admire? The second question is how did they become admirable persons? As you begin to peel off this person's make-up, what part was determined by schools? It turns out to be very little. Schools do not make great people. If they did we could run the country off honor rolls and dean's lists. In fact what part can schools play? After this determination, begin to do educational planning and think of education in a broader sense. This is what education means to us. This part of it we can do and we will do. Another part public schools can do. And, some other part yet other people can do, and so forth. I think that the Johnson-O'Malley funds could actually do this. If you would just turn it over to the local tribal Indian community and let them figure out what they want to do with this money they can do it.

VIII. Strategies for Organizing Effective Leadership in Indian Educational Administration

Chairperson: Dillon Platero, Navajo Division of Education, NIEA
Samuel Billison, Kinlichee Boarding School
W. J. Strickland, Coalition of Eastern Americans
Dwight Billeadeau, National Advisory Council in Indian Education

D. Platero: On the first day of the conference I mentioned a bill. A bill which establishes general legislation by Congress, for an Indian tribe to set up an educational agency. But, once you read it you may get a little knowledge of what it really means. In other words, it is different from what people usually write for all Indians after spending a couple of days in the field. This bill was developed by the Navajo Division of Education at Window Rock. So rather than people trying to work out bills in Washington, why not people on the local level. It may not be acceptable to everyone, but it certainly is an effort on the part of local people.

Anytime there is free food, there is usually a big crowd. You need to be a good strategist. Hold the food and let everybody get in. Start the meeting and get it over before feeding them if you want a large crowd. But the strategy was not that good this afternoon. We let everybody in and people start walking out. I am probably not the person to represent a person like Helen Schierbeck in chairing this group, but I was in Washington last week and Helen Schierbeck mentioned that she was in a bind as she had a meeting with the Commissioner on Friday morning, and said, "Why don't you chair that meeting for me?" Well, I said, "I don't know. It comes to mind that I have a program that I want funded, could you help me with that?" So she indicated that I was taking advantage of her. No, I said that I was just bargaining. So she said O.K. That's how I got here. I think that this is called a trade-off. Realistically, of course, this is only what we say of one another, but today we have a very important panel which will be discussing *Strategies for Organizing Effective Leadership in Indian Educational Administration.* Now you can take that several ways. It could mean raising funds; it could mean getting

the cooperation of many other Indian administrators or non-administrators, or congressmen, senators, and so forth to keep a program running. It could be academic in a way and it could be many other things. But I am sure that you will find from the group represented here a variety of thoughts. The first person on the program really needs no introduction as you heard him speak yesterday, a Navajo, a principal of a school, a very important person especially in the BIA where he has been able to get the community really making the decisions instead of the principal making them. This is a different twist as far as the BIA is concerned because this person understands the community. It is his community and the people have a feeling that what he says certainly is true. Possibly if you had another person there the situation would be different. One of the first Navajos to get his Ph.D in the area of educational administration, I am very happy at this time to have him speak to us.

S. Billison: I think the demands and the weight of leadership responsibility that we must shoulder are understood by all of us. In our case, the leadership of the Navajo begins with the chapter organization, the council delegates, and the chairmen of the tribal council. It is pretty hard to promote something and succeed without political interference or petty politics in the Navajo nation. Instead of being supported by the tribal members of the community or the council, there is always a confrontation. Somehow or other we need to overcome this. For instance, there is reluctance to support the Navajo Tribal Education Division, rather than the Bureau, the state or the private schools. The Navajo Tribe's political system isn't organized by democrats, republicans, or other parties. One year the issue was religion. It was pretty hard for the members of the Native American church to explain their program to non-members. Religion is an item people don't like to talk about, but for Navajos it became an election issue.

There is little cooperation among the Bureau, the public school, and the private school boards. I have been on a school board for a Bureau school. I am now a member of the school board for St. Michael's High School. It is difficult for schools and boards to work with each other for the children. The immediate response is that this is a BIA program, this is a public school program, or this is a mission program. Congress appropriates money to meet specific goals for Indians, therefore I feel a permanent educational organization should be located in Washington, regardless of who is in office.

Federal policy offers education for Indian people. The law of the states specifies that each public school district must educate the children

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who live in that school district. Public schools say these kids go to BIA schools and the BIA schools say these kids should go to public schools. I think the public schools look at an Indian as an income. That Indian represents so much money so the district needs him for the money. Rather than putting this into a curriculum program, they put this money in the bank. There it draws interest for the school district.

The Indians need to be knowledgeable about the different school systems and take part not because they are in the BIA schools, or because they are in private schools, but because there are Indian children in those schools. On the state level we need more tribal involvement. The Navajos need to meet with the other local Indian groups more often. The Apaches and the Navajos need to get together on educational problems and recommendations for needed state funding. There is little contact between the state legislative people and the Indian people regarding education. We have some Navajos in the state legislature, but we hardly ever see them at educational conferences. They don't come to the Indian groups and ask what we need, or how they can help us. At election time we see them, we vote for them, but when we need them they are not there. The Navajo legislator needs to look to his people to see what they need. So I'm saying we need leadership locally, we need leadership in the state legislative positions, in state offices, and finally at the national level. We never get together and say let's organize to work toward an objective. People in the BIA and in the Interior Department like this because we don't move. As long as we don't make the move, they have the control, the Indian money, the Indian land, and the Indians themselves. Unless we exert ourselves and get out of the vacuum that we are in, it will always be the same. There is survey after survey. The anthropologists like to write books about us. But there needs to be a movement toward legislation that can change things. After legislation, there is another step, appropriations. After a bill is approved, that doesn't mean there is a program. There remains the appropriation of funds for that bill. We have no lobbying system for the American Indian. Sure they are saying in Washington that there should be local control, but you know they are still fighting against it. They are saying, "Hold these people back."

The members of the National Advisory Council for Indian Education are not working together. The Tribal Chairmen's Committee, the Vice President's Committee, and the NCAI are working in different directions. They are Indians and the purpose is to help the Indians but they have different ideas, different offices, and rather than working together, they are planning in different directions.

Universities are helping the Indian more than the tribes themselves are helping their own people insofar as funding, writing proposals, suggesting

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programs, and getting people into education are concerned. We need Indian writers and we need Indian research people who can really see the problems. When a researcher makes a survey he has to work through interpreters. He catches it wrong, he tells it differently, the answer comes back wrong and this becomes research. We need an Indian to talk to Indians, to do their research. This, I think, would solve many problems.

W. J. Strickland, Jr.: Participants from the eastern U.S. who are selected by their tribal council or their Indian organization voted unanimously in favor of an ongoing organization to represent them last December. They decided their office should be located in Washington, D.C.

The delegates to the conference stipulated that the steering committee would obtain funds through public or private sources, set up an office in Washington, and work as a technical assistance agency to all groups east of the Mississippi. A long range goal-oriented coalition would work toward the establishment of a single policy at the federal level insuring Indians equal treatment whether they be eastern, western, or urban.

This assistance agency is known as the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans. The Eastern Indians are the descendants of those Indians who lived east of the Mississippi River prior to the American Revolution. They are major impactors on our land and our history. Abenakis and Penobscols of Maine; the Seminoles of Florida; the Narragansetts of Rhode Island; the Cherokees and the Lumbees of the Carolinas; the Mattaponais, Chickahominies, and Rappahanocks of Virginia; the Creeks and Choctaws of Alabama and Mississippi; and Senecas of New York are some of the groups represented. There are approximately 60 tribal groups including the second largest Indian community in the United States. Forty thousand Lumbees of North Carolina have been identified as survivors of those great tribes who inhabited the eastern United States in pre-revolutionary times. Of the 829,000 Indians in the United States, and we can all question those census figures, about 250,000 live east of the Mississippi River. We've identified Indian tribes and organizations in 19 states. In 8 states where census data have documented an Indian population, we have yet to visit and identify those communities. Some strategies must be developed in those states to foster the development of organizations. Most of these people are recognized as Indians neither by the federal government nor by the states in which they live. Despite this, most have retained their tribal and cultural values and many still speak their native tongue. Even though they share the social and economic problems of Indians who reside on federal reservations almost all are excluded from federal programs of assistance for Indians. Although they qualify for programs designed for the poor, most of them have remained so isolated that they cannot take advantage of this

help. The absence of federal recognition is rooted in our national history. Although these Indians are afforded constitutional protection, when the original colonies became states the central government was still too weak to enforce its own law. Thus, the eastern Indians were left to the mercy of state governments. The results included massive loss of their land, banishment, or worse. The federal government has refused extended protection and refused to enforce constitutional guarantees. This turning away is reflected in the Bureau of Indian Affairs refusal to grant recognition to many eastern groups. In the light of Congressional interest in federal court cases brought by public interest law groups, it now appears as if the BIA has rigged the policy.

What do the eastern Indians want? Principally, they want reaffirmation of their identity and acknowledgment by the federal government that they are entitled to the same legal, constitutional protection and services afforded other Indians. They are also seeking ways to break the isolation and poverty in which they have been trapped for over 200 years which have made them the poorest of the poor in America.

In our short existence the strategies we have employed in the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans through various meetings are significant because of the new direction Indians have taken in Indian Affairs. An example of this is our present national conference on Indian Leadership. I think it's only the beginning, our task ahead is to see problems and find solutions. Our past activities include affiliations with the National Indian Education Association, the National Congress of American Indians and the Americans for Indian Opportunity. We seek to unite in all areas of concern. For instance, just yesterday morning for the first time in history a delegation of National Indian organizations met with the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to bring our concerns to that level. Once approved by Congress, we will have gotten our viewpoint across for the first time to those people who make decisions. I'm talking about people like Roy Ash. We got his attention for the first time and I think that's significant.

The types of activities that we're involved in not only concern the Office of Management and Budget but also relate to the Office of Education. Involvement in education for many of our eastern Indian communities is non-existent. So it will be our strategy to work with persons such as representatives of the University Council for Educational Administration, Harvard University, Dartmouth, Penn State and other existing institutions where we now have people of Indian origin on staff or in key positions. We hope to coordinate our efforts from the Washington level. The ultimate goal will be to place more people of the eastern nations in universities at the graduate level.

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These problems exist at the state, regional and national levels. We must get about the business of talking about educational economic development issues and forget our differences as they relate to eastern or western or tribal differences. I don't really think we can confine our efforts to education, because I think education is related to economic development, health and welfare.

I would like to see the University Council for Educational Administration be integrated into our concerns. This is a historic meeting in terms of representation from all national Indian organizations or people here who are affiliated with them. I know that I can pledge the support of our board of directors representing more than 250,000 Indians who reside in the eastern portion of the country.

D. Billeadeau. Right now our Council or staff really is over-coached. Many people claim to be the parents of Title IV. The Advisory Council is a very diversified group of Indians. Because of the diversity some people say there is weakness, but because of diversity there is strength. They are working in your behalf. As individuals they are very weak, as we all are, but as a collective unit you will have a very powerful organization. I can't tell you what we've done, I can only tell you what we hope to do. The Council, the staff and I have been very busy drawing up the Title IV charter. We have begun to establish more precise language in terms of goals, objectives, and operating plans for the Council. It has been proven necessary in Washington to keep reminding those who must work within the governmental framework that the bureaucracy has a historically unique habit of becoming preoccupied with procedural processes and almost oblivious to objectives. They become obsessed with the language of legislative law and not its intent. In addition to this management emphasis in the bureaucracy is a cunning ability to diffuse accountability for results which in turn causes an abnormal use of time, money, managerial and staff effort. The cost of any net results are exceedingly high. It has become clearer to all concerned that the occurrence of mere budget limitations imposed serious constraints upon NACIE and its staff to accomplish all that is desired from Congress in its legislation. Yet, there are some conscientious units in the government that have development management systems capable of achieving solid results.

I have recommended an NACIE Management Center for staff operations in order to assist my staff and me in accompanying our huge workload.

The whole determination of priorities, the allocation of time and budgets of each specific milestone as well as the assignment of Council members, staff volunteers, and others to milestone tasks will be a major

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step toward reaching NACIE goals. During this crucial period in the Council history, it is most important that all of those who have a personal involvement and concern for its future enjoy an early sense of accomplishment; a feeling that it can be done, it will be done. A precise plan together with a well designed schedule is one of the effective ways to bring this about. The immediate benefit should bring a high sense of purpose and dedication.

In summation, the following primary activities, tasks, offices and items will be tracked on displayed schedules in the Center that we will have in our office for everyone to see. We intend to have in the managerial room a chart showing the time, the budget, the staff assignment, the goals, the exact objectives, the operating plans to achieve those objectives, the Council activities, and the contracts for you to see. The input from the Commissioner of Education, Deputy Commissioner for Indian Education, national and regional organizations, Congress, the White House, and our feedback to each will be there for everyone to see as you visit the Council. Recognizing that the Council's destiny is contingent upon effective and timely implementation of action by the Commissioner of Education, it will be very important that we work quite closely with him. However, the Council, my staff, and I very closely monitor the operation of the new Office of Education with regard to Indians. In addition to its advisory capacity, the Council enjoys an unusual status by Washington standards in that it has been directed by Congress to perform certain operational functions that might more normally be found under the purview of a governmental agency. This unique function places NACIE in an excellent position to implement much of its own wisdom. Requiring funding for these operational functions comes through the office of the Commissioner of Education. The importance of a good working relationship between NACIE and the Commissioner is self evident.

Congress went to some pain to establish this close legislative relationship. Inasmuch as the Commissioner has major responsibility toward the National Advisory Council in Indian Education the use of the words "will" or "shall" and "may" and the controlling legislation became very important to the life and the success of NACIE. The phrases, "the Commissioner shall" or "the Commissioner will," are mandatory to the intent, but the Commissioner "may" or "is authorized" and these words imply an action on the part of the Commissioner. But he does not have that leniency when we say "he shall" or "he will." The following example quoted in Title IV of the Indian Education Act demonstrates the importance of being aware of the Congressional intent for Congress uses, "shall and may" phrases very judicially. "The Commissioner shall make

available such sums that may be necessary to enable the National Council to carry out its functions under this Section." When we quote such things as "shall" and "will," we would now say that the Commissioner refuses or the Commissioner is in violation, because he does not have enough money to support the Council. The whole atmosphere of that meeting changed. During one of the first briefings I had with the Council on the mission of NACIE and the main thrust of Indian Education Act, it was remarked that NACIE and the Act represent one of the greatest breakthroughs for the American Indian in our country's history. Now that this is a reality let's make the most of it. Let's get Title IV off the floor. I say these things to show you that what you have been hearing, if you have heard the negative aspects of our Council, have no reason to be reiterated or repeated. You have a Council that's been selected. It's there; let's support them until they give you and me reason not to support them. They are working for you, with you, and they need your support, not the negative remarks some people have been making to them.

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Summary

Summarized by: Kirby D. Hall, Administrative Assistant, University Council for Educational Administration.

The three stated objectives of the National Conference on Indian Educational Leadership (October 2-5, 1973) were:

1. To identify and discuss eight significant issues related to Indian educational leadership.
2. To provide opportunities for Indian educational leaders to learn new skills and competencies.
3. To plan future courses of action and follow up activities based upon judgements of emerging needs in Indian education.

The University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) sought to determine the degree to which these objectives were met. A two-page evaluation form was sent to each participant. Both open and closed-ended questions were used. Twenty seven conference participants completed and returned evaluation forms (approximately 20 percent of the participants). All respondents viewed the meeting as having achieved substantial success relative to objective one. Objective two was perceived to have been moderately achieved, while respondents questioned the feasibility of objective three for consideration in a conference setting. Moreover, there appeared to be consensus on the desirability of future conferences to deal with issues of relevance to Indian education, and that Indians should shoulder major planning responsibilities.

Issues such as cultural interaction, politics of education in general, community involvement in decision making, professional preparation of administrative and instructional personnel, the role of the university, finance, and coordination among governmental levels are of special significance for Native Americans. The emergence of Native American scholars capable of communicating in both Indian and non-Indian settings holds the promise of insightful investigation of these issues. However, we must all be concerned with the inherent problems regardless of our cultural heritage.

It is extremely important that we address the above issues, and others from both micro and macro perspectives. We must clearly define and analyze each of the more specific areas while additionally seeking a greater understanding of their interaction. It is important that we understand the level at which we are probing (micro or macro), and attempt to draw inferences within the appropriate framework. These and other important tasks await our efforts.

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